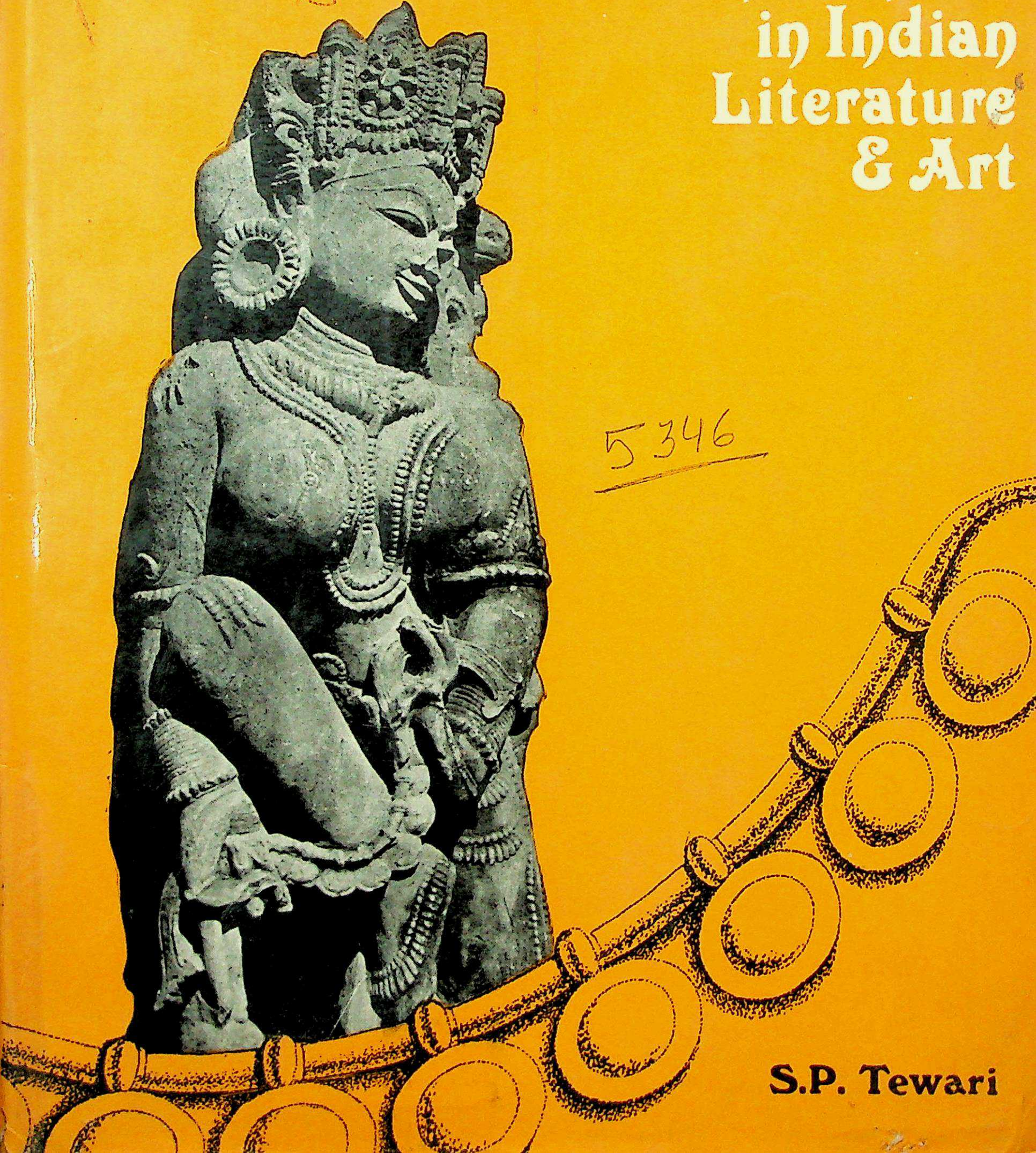
NŪPURA

the Anklet in Indian Literature & Art

5346



5346

S.P. Tewari

5346

NŪPURA-THE ANKLET IN INDIAN LITERATURE AND ART

NŪPURA
THE ANKLET IN INDIAN LITERATURE AND ART

S.P. TEWARI
Archaeological Survey of India,
Epigraphy Branch, Mysore

WITH A FOREWORD BY
Dr. C. SIVARAMAMURTI

AGAM KALA PRAKASHAN
DELHI

First Published 1982.

© SHITALA PRASAD **TEWARI** (b. 1944)

5346

State Museum Library • Lucknow •

Published by : Agam Prasad, M.A., P.G. Diploma in Museology,
for AGAM KALA PRAKASHAN
34, Community Centre, Ashok Vihar, Phase-I,
Delhi-110052, Phone 713395

Production Controller : Bihari Lal Bansal, B.B. ENTERPRISES,
707, Tri Nagar, Delhi-110035

Printed by : PRINT INDIA, A-38/2, Mayapuri,
Phase I, New Delhi-110064

Plates Printed by : RAJ PRESS, R-3, Inderpuri,
New Delhi-110012.

N-āhaṁ jānāmi keyūre n-āhaṁ jānāmi kuṇḍale
Nūpure-tv-ābhijānāmi nityaṁ pād-ābhivandanāt.
Rāmāyaṇa, IV, 6. 23.

Jayati Madanasya ketuḥ
Kāntaṁ praty-udyato-vilāsinyāḥ
Śirasā prārthayitavyaḥ
S-ālktaka nūpuraḥ pādaḥ.
Pāda-tāḍitakam, 7.

S-ālaktakena nava-pallava-komalena
Pādena nūpuravatā madan-ālasena
yas-tāḍyate dayitayā praṇay-āparādhāt
So-ṅgīkṛito bhagavatā Makara-dhvajena.
Amaru-śataka, 128.

Nūpura-dhāraṇaṁ hi mahad-upakurute-abhisārikābhyaḥ.
Dhūrta-viṭa saṁvāda, 64.14.

To
My late lamented Seniors
Dr. V.P. Dwivedi
and
Dr. B.N. Sharma

CONTENTS

Foreword 11

Preface 15

Abbreviations 19

1. INTRODUCTION : (i) Charm of personal decoration and ornaments; (ii) A brief survey of jwellery in Ancient India; (iii) Liking of Sanskrit poets and jwellery; (iv) Jwellery in visual arts; (v) Ornaments of prominence and nūpura. 21

2. ANTIQUITY OF NŪPURA AS AN ORNAMENT : A survey of Sanskrit literature. 33

3. VARIOUS NAMES AND TYPES OF NŪPURA : A look into the meanings of different synonyms of nūpura along with their illustrations in art. 61

4. AMOROUS FANCIES BASED ON NŪPURA : A survey of poetic fancies treating the sex stimulant sound of nūpura in different ways. 83

APPENDIX-A Various names of nūpura—gathered from the Hindi speaking regions. 93

APPENDIX-B References to nūpura from Sanskrit anthologies. 95

Description of Plates 101

Plates

Bibliography

Index

FOREWORD

Knowledge of a language is one thing and appreciation of the nuances of expression of the language and its thought is another. There may be many scholars in the structure of the grammatical varieties of a language that the suggestive meanings in words, their charm and beauty in peculiar modes of expression, which only the greatest poets could achieve, could also be enjoyed only by a connoisseur, a *rasika*. *Rasikas* are rare and they are the most valuable.

When Shri S.P. Tewari was brought by Dr. B.N. Sharma, one of the most devoted to Indian cultural studies, and whose premature death is a great loss to the world of scholars and a personal blow to me, I was attracted to him because of his proficiency in Sanskrit and his keen intelligence. As the years rolled by, Tewari has proved himself to be more and more involved in understanding Sanskrit literature as a connoisseur.

His very choice of the theme for the book, *Nūpura*-the Anklet in Indian Literature and Art, speaks for his taste as a *rasika*.

Though it may appear so very simple, it may not occur so easily to another as a theme on which several poets have delighted in revealing the glory. The melodious sound of the *mañjīra* is the sweet note of the swan so entertaining to the ear. Tewari has not only chosen the theme but enlivened it. He has chosen several rare remarks of poets that reveal their mind. Who can forget Bāṇa's line from the *Kādambarī* where the most beautiful sweet-sounding poetry of the greatest poets is compared to the gem-set anklets that jingle at every step of the damsel and captivate the mind of the listener : *manas tu sādhu-dhvanibhiḥ pade pade haranti santo maṇinūpurā iva*. It is remarkable that Tewari culls out a verse again from Bāṇa picturing Sarasvatī, repository of the highest learning, as a great teacher, articulating sweetly her own feet, as a teacher uttering and repeated at every stage in a series as it were, in *pada* and *krama* manner of the utterance of the *Veda*, sweet sounds of her pair of anklets, like two devoted disciples twice repeating the teacher's utterance in *Vedpātha* : *sishya-dvayeneva pada-kramamukhareṇa nūpurayugalena vāchālitacharaṇā*.

Tewari knows as a connoisseur the mind of the highest poet even more than he knows himself because it is the spectator or the listener who enjoys more, and a true connoisseur is the real patron of poetry. Poets have gone into ecstacy over the *nūpura*. One of the finest verses describing the sound of the *nūpura* that teaches even the swan its utterance as it moves gaily along, exactly following the gait of the damsel herself, is given in Rāma's picture in his mind of the movement of Sītā which he recalls in her separation and longs so much to see and hear again : *mañjīrakvaṇitamisheṇa śikshayantī krīḍālīḥ pulinatalushu rājahaṁsīḥ, ātmīyam gamanavilāsaṃ āprabodhāt bhūyo me nayanasukham kadā nu kuryāḥ*. This is a verse, one of the gems in my father's poem *Sundararāmāyaṇa* giving the story of Rāma.

Nīlakaṇṭha Dikshita specially prays to Devī in his *Ānandasāgarastava* enquiring of her whether at least at the terminal of his life, he would be able to hear the jingling of the gem-set anklets of hers, the world mother, ringing in his ears, which would be an assurance of his liberation : *ākarṇayeyam-api nāma virāmakāle mātas tavāṅghrimaṇinūpuraśiñjitāni*. Instances can be multiplied.

Like Yāska, who insists on the study of etymology to delight in the poetical charm of each word in its make up, Tewari has gone into the nuances of the connotation of each one of the synonyms of *nūpura* like *pādakaṭaka*, *mañjīra*, *pādāṅgada*, *tulākoṭi* and so forth and even into the jingling sound *śiñjita*, *kvaṇana*, *raṇana*, *nināda*, and so forth.

Tewari has also gone into the poetic fancy of the *nūpura*. He has freely used with great advantage the *Chaturabhāṇī*, of bunch of four early one-act plays of great literary worth, and he has not only himself enjoyed the honey of the poets, but in rich form, he has given out also to those that read and enjoy his book, like the bee that, itself intoxicated by the sweet honey and fragrance from the flowers, expresses its joy in the sound of its hum which gladdens the world. Shri Tewari has indeed added a delightful book to render the world of scholarship in Sanskrit inordinately happy. The world is indeed in its turn most thankful to him for his production of this lovely book illustrated suitably with a number of well-chosen pictures and details clarified through sketches specially done for this. May he live long and produce more of such books to enliven the glorious language of the celestials made available to the terrestrials through the grace of the Almighty.

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

New Delhi
August 28, 1981.

PREFACE

In the pages that follow I have tried to ascertain the antiquity of *nūpura* as an ornament with the help of Indian literature and art. I have also attempted to understand and explain the various names and the types of *nūpura* as referred to in the classical Sanskrit literature. Hitherto the synonyms of *nūpura*, such as *Pāda-kataka*, *Pādāṅgada*, *tulā-koṭi*, *mañjīra* and *haṁsaka*, etc. have been invariably rendered into English as an anklet only and no attention, whatsoever has been paid to the shades of inherent distinction in the meanings of these names. As a result every variety of *nūpura* whether occurring in the literary compositions or figuring in the sculptural details have been rendered and described as an anklet only. The basic reason behind this lacuna has been the language itself which has been adopted for communication and which being alien to our culture does not have sufficient number of variants to render exact translations of all such names.

The various names or synonyms of *nūpura* as I have tried to explain below, have not been coined out of the sheer fancy of the lexicographers. They have paid full attention to the names before they were coined and have taken into consideration the existing varieties of the ornament from the art and the society contemporeneous with them. I have tried to visualize the actual meaning (*artha*) of the terms which the litterateurs of the days gone by would have attached to them and point out the shape (*ākṛiti*) of those terms or the varieties which the artists, craftsmen or the sculptors of those days would have practically seen and designed. Apart from the chronological factor responsible for the various names and types of *nūpura*, I have taken into account the geographical factor also which reveals that the same ornament or its type as used in a given region, may be known with a different name in another region. A list of many such names gathered from the Hindi speaking regions and furnished here as an appendix bears out this fact.

After a short introduction dealing with ornaments in general and the *nūpura* in particular, the monograph has three other chapters. The second chapter deals with the antiquity of *nūpura* as an ornament and contains a general survey of the references to *nūpura* from literature. The third chapter deals with the various names and types of *nūpura* wherein the meanings of different synonyms of *nūpura* and their illustrations from the field of art are discussed. The fourth chapter of the monograph deals with the amorous fancies of the poets mainly based on *nūpura*. Of the two appendices (A and B) attached after the last chapter, appendix-A deals with the list of synonyms of *nūpura* even now prevalent in Hindi speaking regions. Appendix-B is a collection of Sanskrit verses from anthologies, referring to *nūpura*. They are full of fancies, lingual charms and a flavour which is cent percent literary in its taste. We are sure that these verses will make a good reading to the *rasikas* of Sanskrit language and literature.

Besides this, a good number of line-drawings coupled with photographs—all illustrating various types of *nūpura* are also placed at the end.

Before closing the preface I fell morally bound to thank all those who have been directly or indirectly helpful to me in the completion of this work. In the first place I acknowledge my gratitude to Dr. C. Sivaramamurti who has not been only my benefactor in so many ways but who has also graced the book with his kind blessings in the form of a foreword. No amount of words will suffice to thank him adequately. In the same breath I do remember the inspiration and the friendly guidance I have ever received from two of my late lamented seniors Dr. V.P. Dwivedi and Dr. B. N. Sharma whose untimely death has been a personal blow to me. In the sacred memory of these two, I have dedicated this monograph as a token of esteem and gratitute.

Amongst other seniors, I feel happy to acknowledge my gratitude for the direct of indirect guidance and inspiration I have received to Dr. (Mrs.) Kapila Vatsyayana, Cultural Advisor to the Government of India, Mr. M. N. Deshpande, Ex-Director General of Archaeology in India, Dr. N.R. Benerjee, Ex-Director, National Museum, New Delhi, Dr. (Mrs.) Debala Mitra, Director General of Archaeology in India, Mr. K. V. Soundara Rajan, Mr. H. Sarkar, Mr. M. C. Joshi, Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao, Director, Archaeology and Museums, Karnataka and others.

Among my colleagues of the Epigraphy office, Mysore, in the first place I gratefully mention the name of Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Chief Epigraphist, who has not only inspired me in my academic pursuits, but has also helped me in developing confidence in the matter of language and expression. My hearty thanks are due to Dr. S.S. Ramachandramurthy who has taken every pain in going through the manuscript and who has also helped me in the preparation of the Index. Timely help of Mr. P. Natarajan of the same office, in making the manuscript presentable and worthy of going to press is equally commendable. Mr. M. J. Sharma also deserves my thanks for the daily ·enquiries he had been making about the progress of the work.

For the major part of the line-drawings produced here, I happily acknowledge the help of Mr. S.K. Sharma of the Excavation branch (II), Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi. I do thank Mr. Kuppachari of the State Archaeology and Museums, Karnataka and Mr. H. R. Raghunath Bhat of Mysore for the same reason. I am specially greatful to the authorities of the Archaeological Survey of India for supplying me the photographs which are illustrated here. Thanks are equally due to Dr. Y. B. Singh, Department of History, Jammu University, Jammu for going through some of the chapters of the manuscript and his commendable suggestions. I must thank Mev. Nelly Geerts and Rosa Maria van der Meer from Amsterdam (Netherlands) for the keen interest they have taken in the progress of the work and their kind enquiries.

I also take this opportunity to record my sincere thanks to the Publishers, Messrs. Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, for undertaking the publication of the work and showing me full consideration all through the printing of the book.

Mysore, S.P. TEWARI
3rd June, 1981.

ABBREVIATIONS

Amara	*Amara-kośa*
Ashta	*Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*
Buddhacha	*Buddha Charita of Aśvaghosha*
D.A.	*Dīgha-nikāya*
Dhūrta	*Dhūrta-viṭa saṁvāda of Iśvaradatta*
G.O.S.	*Gaekwad Oriental Series*
J.	*Jataka-Stories*
J.G.	*Jataka Gāthās*
K.P.	*Kāvya Prakāśa of Mammaṭa*
K.S.	*Kāma Sūtra of Vātsyāyana*
Ku.	*Kumārasaṁbhavam of Kālidāsa*
Māl.	*Mālavikāgnimitram of Kālidāsa*
Megha	*Megha-Dūtam of Kālidāsa*
Milind	*Mīlind-pañho*
Mrich	*Mrichchhakaṭikam of Śūdraka*
N.S.P.	*Nirṇaya Sagra Press*, Bombay
Padma.	*Padma-prābhṛitakam of Śūdraka*
Pāda.	*Pāda-tāḍitakam of Śyāmilaka*
Pt.	*Part*
P.T.S.	*Palt Text Society*
Raghu	*Raghuvaṁśam of Kālidāsa*
Rām.	*Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki*
R.V.	*Ṛigveda*
Ṛitu	*Ṛitu-saṁhāram of Kālidāsa*
S.D.	*Sāhitya-Darpaṇa of Viśvanātha*
S.N.	*Saundarānanda of Aśvaghosha*
Sāk.	*Abhijñāna Śākuntalam of Kālidāsa*
Śiśu.	*Śiśupāla-vadham of Māgha*
Vik.	*Vikramorvaśīyam of Kālidāsa*

1

INTRODUCTION

The love of ornament prompted by vanity is inherent in the human race. A most primitive instinct of human beings is to make their person more beautiful, more imposing or more striking by ornamentation. This inclination is as old as dress itself or perhaps dates even further back. There are tribes to whom climate and civilization have yet not suggested the necessity of clothing the body, but, who nevertheless possess ornaments of some degree of development. The same fact is also borne out by the Sanskrit word *bhūshaṇa* or *ābhūshaṇa* generally taken to be the synonym of ornament in Indian languages. It is formed of the verb *bhūsh* (i.e. *bhūshati*, *bhūshayati—te*, or *bhūshita*) meaning 'to adorn, deck or decorate with'. Later on the popular meaning of the word *bhūshā* is also taken to be simply the garments or the dress. This idea is equally clear from the early sculptures found all over the world, which display more of jewels or ornaments on the body of the persons of those times rather than garments. These early examples of art and for that matter even the later ones also, demonstrate the fact that from the rudest of beginnings upto the last refinements of art, jewelled ornaments have ever had the same purpose in view and it was to give more prominence to individual parts of the body by means of glittering or jingling beautiful objects which involuntarily draw the eye of the spectator in the desired direction. It is on this account that most of the ornaments have derived their names after the names of individual parts of the human body like necklace (i.e. *kaṁthahāra*) is after neck or *kaṁtha*, ear-rings (*karṇa-kuṇḍala*) after the ear, armlets (*kara-kaṅkaṇa*) after the arms and the anklets (*pādāṅgada, pāda-pāla*

5346

or *nūpura*) after the ankles. In fact 'the very places where the ornaments naturally fitted were probably the best of all places in the architecture of human form which could have been found.'[1]

Ornaments are not only worn with the purpose of attracting attention and enhancing the physical charm, but also for satisfying the desire (not less deep-rooted in the veins of humanity) of establishing a distinctive mark of rank and dignity. The quest of such a desire is not confined to any given class of society or the community only, but to the grains of humanity in general.[2] In fact, the wearing of certain kinds of ornaments has, at times been fixed by legislation in certain countries or at least by some well established social conditions. The crown or *makuṭa*, though a kind of ornament even till this day, has remained the prerogative of kings and the queens only. The reflection of this distinctive feature of society and the ornaments is equally present in the field of visible arts. Even in the most traditional art of India which has generally the religion as it's central theme, such distinctive marks denoting the ranks of the persons are clearly noticed. This is evident from the most archaic sculptures as well as from the classical ones. Not only the *yakshas* and *yakshiṇis* are shown profusely decked with jewels, but even the Bodhisatvas who were supposed to have renounced the world, have seldom renounced

[1] Hiler, Hilaire : *From Nudity to Raiment*, p. 125, London, 1930.

[2] The human weakness seeking satisfaction in the glamour of ornaments at any cost is well illustrated in a popular folk-lore from the north of India. It says that a lady from a village, after a long desire had succeeded in acquiring a set of armlets. On the day she had put it on for the first time she moved around the whole village exhibiting her newly acquired armlets with the idea that the other ladies will mark it and appreciate her achievement in return. What a pity it was that the whole day passed on and nobody noticed it. Long last the lady got so disgusted that she put her own house to fire. The moment house started burning, the villagers came to extinguish the fire. In such an emergent situation the eyes of a lady from the neighbouring house fell on the new set of armlets the unfortunate lady was wearing and she enquired when actually the lady had bought them. The former one, got even more angry on her neighbour and said "Had she enquired (or marked) the same thing a little earlier my house would have been saved from being put to fire".

the ornaments denoting their ranks and status in society. Though the images of Buddha are seen devoid of any kind of jewel or the ornament as it was against the strictures of the law to ornament them with jewels, the ego or the intense desire of the artist for it did not feel satisfied. He has given the long ears to the Master, which signify that before the great renunciation, his ear-lobes were decked with ear-rings (*karṇa-kuṇḍalas*). From the sculptures of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and the frescoes of Ajanta—all illustrating the Jataka tales and thus having occasions to present the wider picture of the society, one can easily, with the help of dress and the ornaments, make out the rank and the dignity of the persons. It all shows how deep-rooted was the desire of establishing one's rank and dignity and in achieving this end how indispensable were the jewels and the ornaments. In fact it is this desire which played a major role in creating the best possible decorative pieces, jewels and the ornaments all over the world.

At present, it may be true that the jewels and the ornaments with greater propriety are, however, confined almost entirely to the fair-sex, but it was not the case all the way throughout the history of human civilization. Among savages and races not far removed from barbarism, it may be observed that the love for ornament is the chief characteristic of men. In the context of the Indian civilization, this fact holds good even in case of more civilized people. If the early sculptures of India present even an iota of reality in their details, that itself is enough to prove that the male folk used to put more ornaments on their persons than the female ones. In many cases the ornaments of the male figures far exceed those of the females. This trend is equally noticed even in the sculptures considered as the classical ones. No wonder, if it was this trend or the belief of the society—which made the thinkers and the poets like Kālidāsa to exclaim as to what is not an embellishment of sweet forms? (*kim-iva hi madhurāṇāṁ maṇḍanaṁ n-ākṛitīnām—Śākuntalam* 1.20). Practically everything serves as an ornament to heighten the beauty of a figure which is naturally beautiful because the lotus, though intertwined (or overspread) with the Śaivala, is charming; the speck, though dark, heightens (lit. extends) the beauty of the moon.[3] What to talk about the savages or the civilized world of the past where the males were having more craze for jewellery; even a century and a half ago, among the most civilized nations of Europe the 'beaux' and 'Macaronis' adorned themselves with jewellery of all kinds. Indian Rajas and Mahārājas of the same period were no exception to it either.

With the passage of time, as civilization advanced, we notice an all round change regarding the quest for jewellery which is displayed more and more by women alone. The change in the outlook, the desire or the liking for jewellery and it's acquirement specially by the women-folk, is once more noticed all over the world. It is from this point onward that the gentle-sex, desirous always of pleasing and therefore presenting itself in an elegant and ornate form, has ever sought to add to its charm by adorning itself with jewels. The effort of the male-sex, which has always been allured by the ornate beauty of the fair-sex, was also directed towards the end of acquiring more and more jewels for his beloved ones. The marks of this all-round adornment of the beauty are visible in the art, literature and the craft everywhere. In the field of plastic arts, it is seen in the ornate forms of female sculptures decked with a number of ornaments covering themselves almost from top to bottom. In the field of literature, particularly the Sanskrit literature of India, the poets are never found tired in describing their beauties with so many words and figures of speeches (*alaṁkāras*). In fact the very term figures of speech or *alaṁkāra* in Sanskrit is explained by the Rhetoricians with the help of actual ornaments like *kaṭaka* (the armlet) or *hāra* (the necklace). It is said that the *alaṁkāras* in literature are there to serve the same purpose of adding charm to the individual part of a body of an expression that is otherwise added by the ornaments to the body of a person.[4] As regards the craft, the whole history of the jewellery and the ornaments all over the world, presents a good testimony to this effect. All the countless records of the gems, jewels and the ornaments along with the efforts of the individuals who acquired them and the workmanship of the artists who fashioned them equally bear out the same fact. Thus, the all round activity of man was motivated by the only human instinct of making the fair-sex look more beautiful, more imposing or more striking by ornamentation.

---

[3] *Śākuntalam* 1.29.
see : *Sarasijam=anuviddhaṁ śaivalen=āpi ramyaṁ*
Malinam=api-himaśor lakshma lakshmiṁ tanoti
Iyam=adhika-manojñā valkalen=āpi tanvī
Kim=iva hi madhurāṇāṁ maṇḍanaṁ n-ākṛitīnām.

After such a short prelude of a general nature, looking directly into the context of Indian culture and there too, specially in the field of literature and art, we see that the fascination of Indians for jewels and ornaments is pretty old. Right from the pre and proto-historic times, we start getting remains like beads, etc. and sometimes also the metal ornaments which all speak about the love of Indians towards the ornaments. From the excavations of Harappa and Mohenjodaro and later on even from other sites, a good number of remains are gathered which, as far as ornaments are concerned include 'chiefly necklaces, fillets, armlets and finger-rings for both the sexes, and girdles, ear-rings and anklets'. For the rich, possibly these would have been made of 'gold, silver-faience, ivory or semi-precious stones; for the poor (possibly) shell, bone, copper and terracotta. Carnelian was skilfully bored to form beads for girdles.'[5] The field of the development of ornaments and jewels in proto-historic India has been well explored by Dr. Rai Govindachandra and we can do no better than refer to his useful monograph on the subject.[6]

---

[4] See—*Śabd=ārthayos=sthirā ye dharmā śobhātiśāyinaḥ*
Rasādīn=upakur-vanto=alaṁkārās=te=aṅgadādi vat. S.D. 631 (Calcutta edition)
and
Upakurvanti taṁ santaḥ ye=aṅga-dvārena jātuchit
Hārādi vad-alaṁkārās-te=nuprās-ōpamādayaḥ.
K.P. 8. (Calcutta edition).

[5] Mookerji, R.K., *Hindu Civilization*, p. 17, London, 1936.

[6] Rai Govindchandra, *Studies in the Development of Ornaments and Jewellery in Proto-historic India*, Varanasi, 1964.

Coming to the Vedic period we see that the lust for jewels and ornaments of Vedic Indians was even more than that of their predecessors. In the Vedic literature, there are references to the ornaments of gold in plenty, which were used by both the sexes. Amongst such ornaments are ear-rings (*karṇa-śobhana*), necklaces (*nishkagrīva*)[8], bracelets and anklets (*khādi* and *patsu-khādi*)[9] and garlands (*rukma-vaksha*).[10] Jewels called *maṇi* referred to in *Maṇi-grīva*[11] (i.e. with bejewelled neck) were also worn. The texts of the later Vedic period like the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads—which confine themselves more to the details of a ritualistic nature hardly possess any such information on the subject.[12] Pāṇini in his celebrated work on Sanskrit grammar called *Ashṭādhyāyī*, refers to the cultured citizens (*pravīṇa-nāgarakas*)[13] and also to the art of personal decoration called *subhagaṅkaraṇa*.[14] The decoration was applied to the different parts of the body (*svāṅgebhyaḥ prasite*)[15] such as *keśa*, which were dressed in an artistic manner by the dandy called *keśaka*.[16] Ornaments are referred to by Paṇini as *alaṁkāra*[17] and the act of adornment is referred to as *alaṁkaraṇa*.[18]

As gleaned from the stories of the Jātakas, among the various ornaments worn specially by women and some of them by men (at least of the richer class) were necklaces (*mālā*), ear-rings (*kuṇḍala*) of jewels or kuśa flower or palm leaf, bracelets (*keyūra*), forntlet-piece,

---

7. RV., Viii, 78.3.
8. *Ibid.*, ii, 33, 10.
9. *Ibid.*, i, 166, 9 and V, 54, 11.
10. Mookerji, R.K. *op. cit.*, p. 76.
11. RV., i, 122, 14.
12. Rai Govindchandra, *op. cit.*, appendix 1, p. 247. Also see Apte, V.M., *Social and religious life in the Gṛihya Sūtras*, pp. 78-79, Ahmedabad, 1939.
13. Ashṭādhyāyi, IV, 2, 128.
14. *Ibid.*, III, 2, 56.
15. *Ibid.*, V, 2.26
16. Agrawala, V.S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, Ch. III, p. 129, Lucknow, 1953.
17. Ashṭa, IV, 3.64.
18. Agrawala, Ch. VI, p. 370.

foot-bangle (*pālipādakaṁ*) and waist-bands (*mekhālā*).[19] These and other ornaments worn by ladies jingled like little birds that chirp in times of rain (*chirīṭiśaṁghā*).[20] Though Buddhist literature abounds in material on such topics, what we have given here is just a little summary of the whole, as there is neither occasion, nor space to go into details.

Likewise, the literary compositions of the Epics like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* do teem with references to jewels and ornaments. A well adorned damsel was the most natural sight for Vālmīki who frequently compares natural scenes to decorated women, e.g. :

Pramadām-iva yatnena bhūshitām bhūshaṇ-ottamaiḥ[21]
Vasanābharaṇ-opetā pramadev-ābhyalaṁkṛitā[22]

and *Mālatī kunda gulmaiścha bhaṇḍīrair-nichulais-tathā*
Aśokaiḥ sapta-parṇaiścha ketakair-atimuktakaiḥ
Anyaiścha vividhair-vṛikshaiḥ pramad-ev-opaśobhitām.[23]

In the same way, Sītā even in the forest was decked with all ornaments (*sarv-ābharaṇa-bhūshitā*)[24] and the ideal received favour of the artists throughout the ages. A tenth century A.D. sculpture from Vaḍakkupanaiyūr, of the time of the Choḷas, kept in the Government Museum, Madras almost literally translates the words of Vālmīki. Besides Sītā, the wives of Vidyādharas are also described by Vālmīki as being decked with necklaces, anklets, armlets and bracelets.[25] In the same way Rāvaṇa's numerous mistresses and the women in Sugrīva's

---

19. J. VI, G. 2444-7; (ed) Fausboll, V., London, 1891, 1896 etc.
Kāyūram aṅgadaṁ mani-mekhalaṁ gīveyyaṁ uṇṇatam mukhaphullaṁ
Uggathanaṁ giṅgamakaṁ Pālipādakaṁ.
Also see, V, pp. 202. G. 30 ff., 215 G 62.9; 3026. 37; 44; VI 232 G. 1023.
20. J. V. p. 202.G.31 : *Aññā cha tassa saṁñamanī chatasso nīlāpi tā lohitakācha*
satā chiriṭisamghā-iva pāvusaṁhi.
21. Ram. II, 50.23. (N.S. edition), Bombay, 1930.
22. *Ibid.*, IV, 27.19.
23. *Ibid.*, II. 75.24-5. Also see V. 14.13. and VII. 31, 22-4.
24. *Ibid.*, II, 19.17.
25. *Ibid.*, V.I.26—*Hāra nūpura keyūra, pārihārya dharā striyāḥ*
Vismitāḥ sasmitās-tasthur-ākāśe ramaṇaiḥ saha.

harem are also described as wearing various kinds of ornaments.[26] Apart from general references to ornaments Vālmīki also mentions several varieties of ornaments for the different parts of the body. Among them are different kinds of *kuṇḍalas*, *hāras*, *mekhalās*, *keyūras*, *hastābharaṇas*, and *aṅgulīyakas*,[27] except the anklets which are always referred to as *nūpuras*; as if, like Lakshamaṇa of the story, Vālmīki too knows it only as *nūpura* and by no other name.[28]

The Mahābhārata which covers an even wider range of the society in its narratives, is so full of references to jewels and ornaments that it may require a separate monograph if we intend to do justice to the subject. The poet of the Epic, in fact, has hardly spared an occasion where he has not given due credit to the ornaments of the fair-sex. What to talk of the adornment of the beauties like Draupadī, Subhadrā, Uttarā, Śarmishṭhā or Devayāni, the poet has even not missed the occasion to adorn Arjuna in his disguise as *Vṛihannalā*. The list of gems, jewels and ornaments either acquired by Arjuna from the region of Uttarakuru as a part of his conquest or received by Yudhishṭhira as a gift on the occasion of Rājasūya is another addition to it.

After a bird's eye view of the early literature of India, when we pass to the age of classical Sanskrit literature and go through the numerous texts of the dramas and kāvyas, most of them composed in the prosperous and the most luxurious atmosphere of the royal courts, we get all the more references to gems, jewels and the ornaments. The field is so vast and the material so much in plenty that one really wonders how much and to what extent one may sort them out and discuss, and how much and upto what extent one may put aside. Practically, there is no poet or a dramatist worth the name in Sanskrit, who has not exhausted all his vocabulary in referring to the well-adorned beauties of his choice and in appreciating their jewellery. Beginning

---

26. *Ibid.*, V. 10.31-4; 9.44-9 and IV, 33.23 etc.
27. See—Vyas, S.N., *India in the Ramayaṇa age*, pp. 216-19, Delhi, 1967.
28. See—*Nāhaṁ jānāmi keyūre nāhaṁ jānāmi kuṇḍale*
Nūpure-tv-abhijānāmi nityaṁ pādābhivandanāt.
Rām. IV. 6. 22-23.

from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and passing through the dramas like the *Svapnavāsavadattā* of Bhāsa; kāvyas like *Buddhacharita* and *Saundarānanda* of Aśvaghosha, *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, *Mṛichchhakaṭika* of Śūdraka, all the works of Kālidāsa like *Vikramorvaśīyam*, *Mālavikāgnimitram*, *Śākuntalam*, *Kumārasambhvam*, *Megha-dūtam* and *Raghu-vaṁśam*; *Chaturbhāṇi* or the four one-act plays by Śyāmilaka, Śūdraka, Vararuchi and Īśvaradatta; *Vāsavadatta* of Subandhu, *Kādambari* and *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa, *Uttara Rāma charita* of Bhavabhūti, *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi, *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha, Dramas of Harsha, works of Daṇḍi and the *Naishadha-charita* of Śri-Harsha, we come across such invaluable treasure that can neither be assessed nor sufficiently be elaborated. The poetic expression of Kālidāsa that the *Kalpa-vṛiksha* (or the wishfulfilling tree) alone was capable enough to yield all kinds of ornaments desired by the ladies of the celestial world[29] is equally apt and appropriate to his own works, which yield information on any aspect of Indian culture as the *Kalpa-vṛiksha* does. For the sake of brevity and also in keeping with the theme at our disposal, we restrain ourselves here from going into the details of the history of Indian jewellery and the contribution of Sanskrit literature to that theme. Instead we prefer a quick glance at the plastic art of India as of more relevance and utility.

The first organised art activity in India on monumental scale and permanent material of which we have any definite knowledge to this day and of which datable examples have come down to us in any recognizable number, belongs to the period of the Mauryas.[30] We have practically no example extant of—either sculpture or architecture—that can definitely be chronologically dated as pre-Maurya and the available evidence suggests that whatever earliest specimens of these two branches of visual art we know of, are directly the products of the Maurya court. From the sculptures of this period, apart from the two Patna Yakshas which are almost identical in form and appearance, conception and treatment and dress and ornaments (wearing heavy necklaces) artistically and also from the view point of the display of jewellery the *Yakshiṇī* image from Didarganj is the best. She wears the necklace hanging rhythmically along and between the breast-lines, her thin ankles are decorated by heavy and fully jewelled anklets, arms are adorned with jewelled armlet and bangles, the waist with a girdle and on the forehead she is putting on an ornament referred to as *lalāṭikā*. In all probability, the image of this *yakshiṇī* represents the best possible jewellery of her times. In the succeeding centuries when the art activity developed on a larger scale and also covered a wider area than before, the gems, jewels and the ornaments, loved by the public in general and the fair-sex of the society in particular, received even better representations in various forms of arts and crafts throughout the country. Even a casual glance at the sculpture from Bharhut, Bhāja, Sanchi, Pitalkhora, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Jaggayapeta, Udayagiri, Karle, Mathura, Begram, Goli, Kanheri and a few other sites will suffice for one to be convinced about the richness and the variety of ornaments displayed therein. Strangely enough, it covers only five to seven hundred years of the whole history of Indian Art. What follows afterwards in the field of jewellery and ornaments is really a countless wealth which is difficult even to be estimated. Studies of the sculptural details from the above mentioned centres of art have shown that apart from many ornaments of smaller value and significance, the major type of ornaments which have invariably received the favour of the artists through the ages are five to six in number *viz.* the ear-rings, necklaces, girdles, bracelets, armlets and the anklets.

---

[29] See—*Ekaḥ sūte sakalam-abalā-maṇḍanaṁ kalpa-vṛikshaḥ*. Megha.

[30] Ray, N.R., *Maurya and Post Maurya Art*, p. 1, New Delhi, 1975.

Having visualised the curious details in the case of these ornaments from the early art centre of Bharhut only, where more than 13 varieties of ear-rings, 17 varieties of necklaces, 4 varieties of girdles, 14 varieties of bracelets, 14 varieties of anklets are represented,[31] one

[31] See-Cunningham, A., *Stupa of Bharhut*, pls. XLIX to LII; Coomaraswamy, A.K., *La Sculpture de l' Bharhut*, pl. XVIII, fig. 46; pl. VII, fig. 21, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 113, pl. XXXV, fig. 98, pl. XLIV, fig. 164 and others. Also see, *Bharhut* by Barua, B.M. and La Vie publique et prive dans l'Inde Ancienne, fac. 9, pt. I by Loth, A.M., Paris, 1972.

can easily realize the richness in the case of the material and the variety in the field of prevailing fashions of ornaments of other centres as well. A majority of them like Sanchi,[32] Amarāvati,[33] Nagarjunakonda,[34] Mathura,[35] Begram[36] and others[37] have been well studied and the material from there has been duly sorted out and published by the art-historians.

In the foregoing pages, from our short survey of the Ancient Indian literature and art regarding the jewellery and the ornaments, we have seen that the material on both the counts is so enormous and the field so vast that to do real justice to it is really, if not impossible, at least a tremendous task. That is why, those who have attempted the theme earlier, have been either too good to the literature, or a bit partial to the sculptural details and there too, they have been mainly concerned only with one centre of art. It is true that the Sanskrit literature is a big mine of information for the student of Indian culture and on the other hand, the study of Indian sculpture which supplements that information with the details of a visual nature, is a world in itself. But, where the mine of information is so deep and the convas of the visual art so vast, it may really not be practically feasible to either take out and evaluate every gem from the mine or to see its glamour on the convas of the visual arts at the same time. It is on this ground we have avoided studying all the

---

32. See Marshall and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. II and the plates therein.
33. Sivaramamurti, C., *Amaravati Sculptures in the Government Museum, Madras*, (1942).
34. Longhurst, Nagarjunakonda, M.A.S.I., No. 54 (1938); Rao, P.R., *The art of Nagarjunakanda* (Madras), 1956.
35. Vogel, J. Ph., *La sculpture de Mathura* (Ars Asiatica), Agrawal, V.S., Guide book to the Arch. Section of the Prov. Museum, Lucknow (1940).
36. Hackin, N.R.A.B. (quoted by Loth).
37. For instance see—Barret, D., *Karla Caves* (guide), Kramrisch, S., *The art of India* (1954); Mitra, R., *The Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II and plates; Ghosh, A. and Sarkar, H., in *Ancient India*, Nos. 20-21 (1967), Deshpande, M.N., in *Ancient India* No. 15 (1959), etc.

prominent ornaments like the ear-rings, necklaces, girdles and armlets together and have selected only the *nūpuras* or the anklets for the purposes of our study here.

In the pages that follow we have tried to ascertain the antiquity of *nūpura* from Indian literature and also to see its art representations through the ages. We have also tried to understand and explain the various names and the types thereof as referred to in the classical Sanskrit literature and see how appropriate the names are ?

Having gone through all these details at length, we have also incorporated all kinds of poetic fancies based on *nūpura* and have reached to the conclusion that majority of such fancies from the literature are invariably amorous in their nature. How amorous these fancies are, is now left for the readers requested to go through them and realise.

2

ANTIQUITY OF NŪPURA AS AN ORNAMENT

Beginning from the Vedic literature, we come across a word mentioned as *khādi* which occurs frequently in the Ṛigveda[1] and denotes either anklets or armlets or sometimes rings on the hands.[2] Though there is a difference of opinion about the exact meaning of the word *khādi* it is accepted on all hands that it has the sense of a ring. It would have been a ring like weapon (*āyudha*) such as *chakra*; a bangle in the context of *khādi-hasta* or *hasteshu-khādiḥ*; an anklet in the context of *patsu-khādayoḥ* like *kaṭaka* of the later days which we shall have occasion to discuss later on, or even a ring made of a cord and put in the neck of a bull.[3] One finds it difficult to agree with Max Müller's consideration of the word *vṛisha-khādi* meaning quoits.[4] As witnessed even today, in all probability it would have meant, the ring made of a cord and tied in the neck of a bull which apart from being a decoration is also useful at the time of fastening the animal to the peg with the help of a rope. What at a later date Kālidāsa describes in case of Nandī having tiny golden bells arranged with a rope and tied to its neck jingling at every step the animal took (*sa-śabda-chāmīkara-kiṅkiṇīkaḥ*),[5] seems to be the ornamental feature developed from this early style of a simple rope. From the *Śāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* which refers to *Hiraṇya-khādi*[6] we get an idea that

---

1. RV, 1, 64, 10; 168, 3; ii, 34.2; V, 54, 11, 58.2; VI, 16.40 and X. 38.1.
2. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Pt. I, p. 216.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 216, notes and the references.
4. Sacred Books of the East, 32, 120, 230.
5. Kumāra, VII, 49.
9. *Śāṅkhyāyana*, iii, 5, 2; VIII, 23.6.

the rings either meant to adorn ankles or the arms, were sometimes made of gold also.[7]

Apart from this, as mentioned above also, neither from other *Saṁhitas*, nor the *Brāhmaṇa* texts nor even from *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini any useful information regarding the ornaments in general and the anklets in particular is received. Later on, it is only from the texts of the Buddhists that we start getting further information on the subject.

In a Pāli text called *Therīgāthā* one of the *theri* (*bhikkhuṇis*) is described as *saṇhanūpura suvaṇṇamaṇḍitā sobhate su jaṅghā pure mama*,[8] where the term *nūpura* is used in the definite sense of an anklet. In the Dictionary of the Pali Text Society[9] the word *nūpura* is said to be of a non-Aryan origin and suggested to be compared with the Prākṛit terms like *ṇeura* and *nīdhura*. As per reference cited in the Dictionary, the term also occurs in the *Aṭṭhasālinī* commentary of *Dīgha-nikāya*.[10] A more common word frequently referred to in late Sanskrit texts as *mañjīra* is also included in the Dictionary and the reference to it, cited therein, is from the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*.[11] Out of all these terms, the term *pālipāda* referred to in the sense of an anklet in the Jatakas[12] seems to be the earliest one from the Buddhist literature. To our surprise the word *pāli-pāda* does not figure in the Dictionary of the Pali Text Society mentioned above. Interpretation of Mr. Sivaramamurti of the term *suvaṇṇa-pādukā*,[13] figuring in the text of a commentary called *Sumaṅgala-vilāsini*[14] of *Dīgha-nikāya*, as a

---

7. *Vedic Index*, pt. I, p. 216.
8. *Therīgāthā* 2; 268, P.T.S., London, 1930.
9. Pt. III, p. 212.
10. *Ibid.*, DA. I. 50.
11. *Ibid.*, pt. IV, p. 139.
12. J.VI.G. 2447.
13. See—*Amaravati Sculptures in the Govt. Museum, Madras* by Sivaramamurti, p. 114, note 1.
14. *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* (a commentary on *Dīgha-nikāya*), ed. Rhys Davids, T.W., P.T.S. (pt. I), London, p. 136.

'confused expression of the anklet' seems to be a sensible one. The context in which the word is used, being an interesting one, deserves to be seen in detail.

The story cited in the commentary says when Ajātaśatru imprisoned his father Bimbisāra, he ordered his men on the watch that except her mother no one else should be permitted to meet him (*mama mātaraṁ ṭhapetvā aññassa daṭṭhuṁ mā deṭhāti ch-āha*). Since then, the queen (his mother) used to meet the king (Bimbisāra) and offer him the cooked rice, she could secretly bring in her drinking vessel made of gold (*Devī suvaṇṇa sarake bhattaṁ pakkhipitvā uchchhaṅgena ādāya pavisati Rājā taṁ bhuñjetvā yāpeti*). Later, when Ajātaśatru enquired from his men as how the king was surviving, they told the whole story. He asked them not to allow her mother to go like that. Then the queen started to carry the meal by hiding it on the back of her crown. That was also checked and stopped. Finally she started carrying it by hiding it inside her gold sandals (*suvaṇṇa-pādukā*)[15] or the anklets as interpreted by Sivaramamurti.

The main objection of Sivaramamurti in not accepting the meaning of the word *pādukā* as a sandal or a slipper (in which sense the word is frequently referred to in Buddhist literature and also in other places)[16] seems to be that nothing can be hidden there. But, after considering the design of the sandal wherein the front and the back part from the side of the sole are made higher and a hallow is left in between; one may also argue that after concealing something in that hallow, if the sole is covered, a person can easily walk. However, if we agree with Sivaramamurti, a welcome reference to the anklets used in a life-saving device may be seen here.

Anklets in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki, as mentioned above also, are referred to only by the name of *nūpura*. This *nūpura* which was the only ornament known to Lakshmaṇa from all the apparel and the ornaments of Sītā (cf. *nūpure tvabhijānāmi nityaṁ pādābhivandanāt*)[17] is described by Vālmiki as made of *ratna* or *maṇi* :

---

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[16] See—*Vinaya* I, 190, II 142, 222; J. III, 327; IV, 129, 379; V 298; VI 23; *Milinda*, 330; DA I 136 etc.

> *Charaṇān-nūpuraṁ bhrashṭaṁ Vaidehyā ratna-bhūshitaṁ*
> *Vidyunmaṇḍala saṅkāśaṁ papāta dharaṇītale.*[18]

From the general description of the ornaments of Sītā, which are said to be massive (*mahānti*) in size, producing sweet sounds (*svanavanti*),[19] it is deduced by the scholars that the *nūpuras* described by Vālmiki if they were massive in size and were producing sweet sounds, would have meant the same as *mañjīras* of the later date.[20] Besides this, on other occasions too Vālmīki has preferably noticed the *kūjita* (cuckooing or jingling) of *nūpura* the anklets, *nisvana* (the sweet sound) of *kāñchi*—the girdle and the sound (*svana*) of other ornaments (*ābharaṇa*) in general.[21] The fact that the *nūpuras* could easily be slipped on and off is beautifully noticed in the *Rāmayaṇa* when the drunk, tired and half-sleepy state of Rāvaṇa's damsels inside the harem is made a subject of verbal picturization. Since the anklets of these ladies had slipped off their ankles, they are described as *udbhrānta nūpurāḥ.*[22]

In the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya, there are good details about the availability of precious metals like gold and silver which were invariabily used for making ornaments. Also there are details about their qualities and demerits and the instructions about how to keep the goldsmiths who manufactured the ornaments under control. However except a few details regarding the technique applied in making the ornaments (like *kshepaṇa*, *guṇa* and *kshudra*),[23] hardly anything about the ornaments in particular is mentioned. An indirect inference from this can always be made that the age to which the *Arthaśāstra* belongs was a prosperous one and the fair-sex of that time was certainly not devoid of jewels and ornaments. The more direct evidence to it, is gathered from the sculptures of the time which teem with so many jewels and ornaments and where, as we shall see later, a good variety in case of anklets is equally noticed.

---

[17] *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 6. 22-23.

[18] *Ibid.*, III, 52.29.

[19] *Ibid.*, V, 15.46.

[20] Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[21] See *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 33.25.26.
Kūjitaṁ nūpurāṇām cha kāñcīnāṁ nisvanaṁ tathā.
Sa niśamya tataḥ śrīmān-Saumitrir-lajjito-abhavat.
and
Rosha vega prakupitaḥ śrutvā ch-ābharaṇa-svanaṁ.

[22] *Ibid.*, V, 9.45. *Vyāvṛitta tilakāḥ kāśchit-kāśchid-udbhrāntanūpurāḥ.*

[23] *Kautilya's Arthaśāstra* by Samaśāstri, p. 104, Bangalore, 1915.

Aśvaghosha who has devoted his poetry to Buddhist themes and composed the kāvyas like the *Buddhacharita* and the *Saundarānanda*, inspite of the fact that his theme demanded more details of monastic order, has successfully found occasions to highlight the charm of feminine beauty along with its apparels and the ornaments. Most probably, it is the liking of Aśvaghosha for such details which has made him to follow the poetic convention (*kavi-samaya*) of describing the *pura-sundarīs* and that too more than once.

In the *Buddhacharita*, the poet steals an occasion to describe the beauty, the ornaments, and the sensual charm of the *pura-sundarīs* at a time when Siddhārtha as a young prince decides to come out of the palace and makes his first entry into his father's capital. sHaving heard the news through their messengers and the maid-servants, 'the beauties of the town' flocked in the balconies and the windows of their houses and thus provided the poet a chance to steal the show. This description of Aśvaghosha, which stands probably next to the description of Vālmīki of the sleeping damsels in Ravaṇa's harem, also stands as an *upajīvī* ideal to the poets of the succeeding centuries deserves, by all means, to be seen in detail.

Aśvaghosha says that after hearing "the news that the prince is going out, from the attendants of the female apartments, the women hastened to the roofs of different mansions, having obtained the permission of their elders. Hindered by the strings of their girdles which had slipped down, with their eyes bewildered as if just awakened from sleep and the ornaments hastily put on in the stir of the news, these women filled with curiosity crowded around. While mutually reproaching one another for their hurry, the noise of their girdles and the jingling of their anklets which resounded on the stair cases and roofs of mansions, frightened the flocks of birds which lived in the houses. Some of these women, even in their haste as they rushed longing to see, were delayed in their going by the weight of their hips and full bosoms. Another lady, though well able to go herself, checked her pace and forbore to run, hiding with shame her ornaments hitherto worn only in seclusion and now too boldly displayed. Having reached there, they were restlessly swaying about in the windows crowded together in the mutual press, with their ear-rings polished by the continual collision and their ornaments all jingling. The louts like faces of the women gleamed while they looked out from the windows with their ear-rings coming into mutual proximity, as if they were real lotuses fastened upon the houses. The faces of the beautiful women shone like lotuses wreathed in garlands, while through the narrowness of the windows their ear-rings were transferred to each others cheeks'‘[24]

Since the translation, as goes the saying, equally like a lady; at places (on occasions) if faithful, is not beautiful and on other occasions when beautiful, is not faithful, it may not be out of place to quote the original as well :

Tataḥ kumāraḥ khalu gachchhat-īti śrutvā striyaḥ preshya-janāt pravṛittim

Didṛikshayā harmya talāni jagmur=janena mānyenakṛit-ābhyanujñāḥ

Tāḥ srasta-kāñchi-guṇa vighnitāś-cha suptā prabuddhākula-lochanāś-cha

Vṛittānta-vinyasta-vibhūshaṇāś-cha kautūhalen-āpi bhṛitāḥ parīyuḥ.

Prāsāda-sopāna-tala-praṇādaiḥ kānchī-ravair-nūpura-nisvanaiś-cha

---

24. *The Buddhacharita of Aśvaghosha* (Tr.) by Cowell; Bk III 13-21, reprint, New Delhi, 1977.

Vibhrāmayantyo gṛiha-pakshisaṁghān-anyonya vegāchcha samākshipantyāḥ
Kāsāñchid-āsāṁ tu varāṅganānāṁ jāta-tvarāṇām-api sotsukānāṁ
Gatim gurutvāj-jagṛihur-viśālāḥ śroṇīrathāḥ pīna payodharās-cha
Śīghraṁ samarth-āpi tu gantum-anyā gatiṁ nijagrāha yayau na tūrṇam

Hriyā pragalbhāni nigūhamānā rahaḥ prayuktāni vibhūshaṇānī
Parasparopīḍana pinḍitānāṁ saṁmarda saṁśobhita kuṇḍalānāṁ
Tāsāṁ tadā sasvana-bhūshaṇānāṁ vātāyaneshv-apraśamo babhūva.

Vātāyanebhya-stu viniḥ sṛitāni paraspar-opāsita kuṇḍalāni
Strīṇām virejur-mukha paṅkajāni saktāni harmyeshviva paṅkajāni.

Vātāyanānām-aviśāla bhāvād-ānyonya gaṇḍ-ārpita kuṇḍalāni
Mukhāni rejuḥ pramad-ottamānāṁ baddhāḥ kalāpā iva pankajānām.[25]

Similar descriptions, later on also are found in the works of Kālidāsa[26] Bāṇa[27] and others. In the earlier stages, in place of *pura-sundarīs* particularly in the context of a royal palace *nāṭakitthiya* are mentioned in some of the Pāli texts, specially in the Jatakas.[28] Aśvaghosha has referred to these *nāṭakitthiyas* of the Pāli texts as dancing girls who were the part of the harem and were rejoicing and lamenting both as per the occasions. For, apart from the rejoicing part which we have already seen above, the poet has also made a good note of their lamentations. It followed after the renunciation of Siddhārtha. As a result, they stopped caring for their garments, jewels and personal adornments. In the words of Aśvaghosha these beauties were seen "with their dress hanging down, their linen garments soiled, faces untouched by coolyrium and eyes dimmed by tears looking dark and discoloured and destitute of painting like the stars in the sky pale-red with the ending of night. Their feet were unstained by red and undecked by anklets; their faces without ear-rings with the ears left to their native simplicity. The loins of these ladies were no more circled by a girdle nor their bosoms were any more adorned with the pearls of the necklaces as if they had been robbed" :

---

[25] *Buddhacharita of Aśvaghosha* (Text) ed. by Cowell Bk III, Verses 13-19 and 21, Oxford, 1893.

[26] See *Raghu.* VII, 5-12., *Kumāra.* VII, 56-64.

[27] *Kādambari.* p. 184 (N.S. edition).

[28] J. II 40, 408, V 178; 278; VI, 49 etc.

Vilamba veśyo malin-āṁśuk-āmbarā nirañjanairvāshpa-hat-ekshaṇair-mukhaiḥ

Krishṇā vivarṇāñjanayā vinā kṛitā div-īva tārā rajanīkshayāruṇāḥ.

Arakṭa-tāmraiś-charaṇair-a-nūpuriar-a-kuṇḍalair-ājava karṇikair-mukhaiḥ

Svabhāva pīnair-jaghanair-a- mekhalair-a-hāra yōktrair-mushitair-iva stanaiḥ[29].

As in the *Buddhacharita*, Aśvaghosha, in his other work called the *Saundarānanda* also has taken good note of personal charms and ornaments. Contrary to the theme of the *Buddhacharita* even the central theme of the *Saundarānanda* is based on the romance of Sundarī (also known as *Janapada kalyāṇī*) and her husband Nanda. Aśvaghosha's picturesque description of the personal charm of Sundarī forms one of the master pieces of the classical Sanskrit poetry and amongst the lovers of Sanskrit poetry whenever there is an occasion to appreciate the feminine beauty, Sundarī is remembered in the first place.[30] Other beauties standing nearer to her are possibly

---

[29] *Buddhacha*. VIII, 21-22.

[30] See—*Saundarānanda of Aśvaghosha*, ed. by H.P. Sastri, Calcutta, 1939. For instance Sundarī is described as :
Lakshmyā cha rūpeṇa cha sundarīti stambhena garvveṇa cha māninīti, IV. 3.
Sāhāsa haṁsā nayana-dvirephā pīnastanābhyunnata padma-koshā IV. 4
and '*sā devatā nandana chāriṇīva*, IV. 6 etc.

Śakuntalā and the Yakshiṇī of Kālidāsa only. Her beauty was so excellent that it added charm even to the ornaments (*svenaiva rūpeṇa vibhūshitā hi vibhūshaṇānām-api bhūshaṇaṁ sā*—IV. 12) and practically there was no need for her to have the ornaments, still what best the poet has provided her, forms a marvellous piece of information. Apart from the *karṇotpala* or *kuṇḍala* (the ear-rings); *hāra-yashti* or the necklace,[31] the anklets which we are looking for, are described in a most loving style having a personal touch at the same time. Nanda, in his delicacy of love, says the poet, bowed down before Sundarī, for the fear that she may not put her lotus like feet, encircled by the ever moving anklets on his head as a punishment.

Tataś-chalan-nūpura yantritābhyāṁ nakha-prabh-odbhāsitar-
āṅgulibhyām
Padbhyāṁ priyāyā nalin-opamābhyām mūrdhnā bhayānnāma
nanāma Nandaḥ[32].

On other occasion, the jingling of the anklets of Sundarī which frightened the pigeons seated in the house-balconies is described once more, though the context this time is that of her lamentation :

Sā trāsayantī valabhī puṭasthāna pārāvatān-nūpura niḥ-svanena.[33]

Further on, once, while illustrating the famous love-affairs of so many well-known personalities, and second time while giving a graphic description of *Nandanavana* and the *pārijāta* tree therein, Aśvaghosha has shown us the glamour of the anklets. In the first instance, he says that even the most religious-minded *Dvaipāyana*, while enjoying the charm of a courtesan from Kāsī called Vidyullatā, was once lovingly kicked by her feet with anklets :

Dvaipāyano dharma-parāyaṇaś-cha reme samaṁ Kāśishu veśa-
vadhvā

---

[31] See. *Ibid. Chikshepa karṇotpalam-asya-ch-āṁse kareṇa savyena madālasena,* IV. 16.
and
Sā-taṁ stan-odvarttita hārayashtir-uthāpayāmāsa nipīḍya dorbhyām.
Kathaṁ kṛitosīti jahāsa ch-ochchaiḥ mukhena sāchīkṛita kuṇḍalena,
IV. 19.

[32] *Ibid.* IV, 17.

[33] *Ibid.* VI. 8.

Yayā hato-abhūt chala-nūpureṇa pādena Vidyullataeva meghaḥ.[34]

On the other occasion, in a most conventional way the belief in the prosperity of *svarga* and the quality of the wish fulfilling tree there which yields *hāra*, *maṇi*, *kuṇḍala*, *keyūra*, *nūpura* and many other ornaments is made the subject.[35] What is even more important in case of the above description of Aśvaghosha is the fact that many of his themes have also received the favour of the sculptors of his time who have translated such novel ideas in stone and thus, have made the whole theme like that of Sundarī and Nanda immortal. Since we plan to deal with such art depictions under a different heading we restrain ourselves from going into the details here.

A curious fact which comes to our notice from the survey of Aśvaghosha's poetry is that like Vālmīki, he has also used only the word *nūpura* in the sense of an anklet.[36] It gives a chance to the possibility that in the early stages, all the varieties of anklets (which we invariably come across when we go through the sculptural details) were known with the name of *nūpura* only and it was in the succeeding centuries that, some other synonyms of it were introduced which gained currency.

Curiously enough, the singular evidence of the anklet received from the *Chārudatta* of Bhāsa and the *Mṛichchhakaṭikam* of Śūdraka also refers to the name *nūpura* only. What is even more peculiar in case of this evidence is that Bhāsa and Śūdraka both have not only adopted the popular love story of Chārudatta and Vasantasenā, but have also been identical in their descriptions of certain events. In a particular case where the jingling of anklets is made a theme, even *the śloka*

---

34. *Ibid.* VII, 30.
35. *Ibid.* X, 23.
36. Though Rai Govindchandra (*op. cit.* Appendix V) on the basis of the expressions like *yoktra-nūpura* (S.N. IV. 17) and *chala-nūpura* (S.N. Vii. 30) has tried to show that there were more varieties of anklets known to Aśvaghosha (and certainly they were), what we have stressed is the fact that the anklets were known only with their name as *nūpura*.

cited by both is one and the same.[37] However, the details added to the jingling of anklets by Śūdraka are far more interesting in comparision to that of Bhāsa and therefore draw our attention immediately.

In the words of Śūdraka when Śakāra says that he will search for Vasantasenā, *Viṭa* his friend, asks him whether he knows any particular sign of Vasantasenā, that he will mark ?. But, after not getting any reply from Śakāra, *Viṭa* himself comes out with the answer and says that by the sign of Vasantasenā he means the sound of her ornaments or the scent of her chaplets (*bhūshaṇa śabdaṁ saurabhy-ānuviddhaṁ mālya-gandhaṁ vā*).[38] Finally, after hearing the foolish answer of Śakāra that though he hears the scent of her chaplets, because of his nose being choked up with darkness, he could still not very clearly *see* the sound of her ornaments,[39] *Viṭa* indirectly addresses Vasantasenā, and it is here that the beauty of the anklets appears.

He says to Vasantasenā "though it is true that owing to the darkness you cannot be seen, like lightening lying concealed in the gap of the interior of a cloud, still, O my dear timid lady ! the scent proceeding from your chaplets as well as the jingling of your anklets is clearly betraying you and disclosing all your whereabouts" :

Kāmaṁ pradosha-timireṇa na dṛiśyase tvaṁ
Saudāmin-īva jalad-odara-sandhi līnā
Tvāṁ sūchayishyati tu mālya-samudbhavo-ayaṁ
Gandhaś-cha-bhīru mukharāṇi cha nūpurāṇi.[40]

Vasantasenā immediately got the message and in a most stylistic way took her anklets off (*nāṭyena nūpurāṇy-utsarya*).[41] She took her·

---

[37] See : The *Chārudatta* of Bhāsa 1.16 (ed.) by Devadhara, Poona, 1951 and the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* of Śūdraka 1.35 (ed.) by Kale, M.R., Delhi, 1952.

[38] *Mrich.* 1.34.

[39] *Ibid.* 1.34 (Sanskrit rendering), *Śṛinomi mālya gandhaṁ. Aṅdhakāra pūrita tayā punar-nāsikayā na suvyaktaṁ paśyāmi bhūshaṇa śabdaṁ.*

[40] *Ibid.* I. 35.

[41] *Ibid.*

anklets off in a most stylistic way, is equally an interesting point which adds an extra charm to the event as a whole. Vasantasenā's walking in the darkness of the night with the jingling of her anklets also marks her being a real *abhisārikā*, the aspect we shall deal separately.

Passing on to the famous treatise of Bharata on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, we see that by the time this famous text on the classical Indian dance and drama came into a definite shape, vocabulary of the Sanskrit literature in regard with the anklets was enriched. Under a separate chapter on the costumes and make-up (*āhāry-ābhinaya*)[42] Bharata has elaborately dealt with the variety of costumes and the ornaments of his times. With great erudition he has studied and explained to us the different varieties (*nānā-vidhaṁ*) of the dresses and the ornaments preferred and used by the people of different regions, maintaining at the same time a good distinction between the ornaments for male and the ornaments for females :

Bhūshaṇānāṁ vikalpaṁ hi purusha-strī sam-āśrayaṁ
Nānāvidhaṁ pravakshyāmi deśa-jāti samudbhavaṁ.[43]

Speaking directly about the ornaments Bharata says that the ornaments of the body are known by the wise to be of four kinds : (i) that to be fixed by piercing the limbs (*āvedhya*), (ii) that to be tied up (*bandhanīya*), (iii) that to be worn (*prakshepya*) and (iv) that to be put round (*āropya*).[44] Therein, he explains further, the ornaments to be worn (*prakshepya*) are the anklets (*nūpura*) as well as the wearing apparels.[45]

Among the varieties of anklets Bharata has eneumerated some four of them. These are *nūpura*, *kiṅkiṇīka*, *ratna jālaka* and *sa-ghosha kaṭaka* :

Nūpuraḥ kiṅkiṇīkāś-cha ghaṇṭikā-ratna-jālakaṁ sa-ghoshe kaṭake cha-eva[46]

---

42. *Nāṭyaśāstram* Vol. III; Ch. XXI. G.O.S. No. CXXIV, Baroda, 1959.
43. *Ibid.* Ch. XXI, 15.
44. *Ibid.* XXI, 12 : *Chaturvidhaṁ tu vijñeyaṁ nāṭye hy-ābharaṇaṁ budhaiḥ.*
Āvedhyaṁ bandhanīyaṁ cha kshepyam-āropyam-eva-cha.
45. *Ibid.* XXI, 14.
46. *Ibid.* XXI, 39-40.

Out of these, *nūpura* is the same as the one we have discussed above. *Kiṅkiṇīka* type of anklet is one which has small bells (*ghaṇṭikā*) attached to it, and *ratna-jālaka*, as also explained by Abhinavagupta, is a jewel-net type anklet which while it is worn, keeps the fore part of the foot covered (*ratna-jālakaṁ prapad-āchchhādakaṁ*).[47] *Sa-ghosha kataka* is a ring like anklet which produces agreeable sound (*sa-ghoshe sa-śabde kaṭake*)[48] which would have been a proto-type of *mañjīra* of the later days.

A noteworthy point in Bharata's account is that he notices more varieties of anklets with different names which were not noticed earlier. His reference to *kinkiṇīka-ghaṇtikā* which seems to be like *kshudra-ghaṇṭikā* or *ghuṅghurū* worn by the dancers at a later date is also important from the literary point of view. Apart from it, what Bharata has referred to as *ratna jālaka* seems to be the earlier name of the anklets called *maṇi-nūpura*.

Vātsyāyana in his famous treatise on Indian Erotics called the *Kāmasūtra*, has made only a general mention of the *alaṁkāras*.[49] Except the rings which are very frequently referred to as tokens of love presented by lovers to each other[50] he has some how avoided from going into the details of naming each and every ornament. Obviously, he has left it to the choice of his *nāgaraka* and *nāgarikās* who were already supposed by him to be proficient in the art of wearing ornaments (*bhūshaṇa-yōjana*)[51] according to their own refined taste. Apart from the reference to the art of *bhūshaṇa-yōjana*, which forms one of the sixty four *aṅga-vidyās* connected with erotics, Vātsyāyans's repeated reference to the craftsmen like *suvarṇakāra*, *maṇikāra* and *vaikaṭika* also goes to show that the demands of the ladies who liked to decorate their whole person with ornaments and

[47] *Ibid.* p. 116 (Commentary of Abhinavagupta).

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] *Kāmasūtra* : *sa-viśesham-alaṁkṛitā* (5.3.4); *nityamalaṁkāra yogaḥ* (6.1.21), Benares (edition), 1929.

[50] *Ibid.* 5.2.21.

[51] KS I.3.16.

who could not even appear before their husbands without having ornaments on, provided the amplest occupation to the goldsmith and the jeweller.

Kālidāsa, who has no facination to refer to *alaṁkāras* for the sake of *alaṁkāra* only and has delighted more in describing the physical charms of the fair-sex, has still referred to a good number of ornaments in his works. These are like *chūḍāmaṇi*,[52] *kirīṭa*,[53] *karṇa-bhūshaṇa*,[54] *maṇikuṇḍala*,[55] *muktāvalī*,[56] *tāra-hāra*,[57] *Vaijayantikā*,[58] *keyūra*,[59] *aṅgada*,[60] *valaya*,[61] *aṅgulīyaka*,[62] *mekhalā*,[63] *kāñchī*,[64] *raśanā*[65] *kinkiṇī*,[66] *nūpura*,[67] *maṇi-nūpura*[68] and others. Though Kālidāsa has used all the synonyms denoting ornaments in Sanskrit, like *bhūshaṇa*, *ābharaṇa*, *alaṁkāra* and *maṇḍana* in his works,[69] from the most remarkable references in this regard, it seems that he had a special liking of the word *maṇḍana*. The fact is clearly borne out from two such references in sight, by now forming a part of *subhāshita*. One is *kim-iva hi madhurāṇām maṇḍanaṁ nākṛitīnām* from the Śākuntalam[70] and the other one is *ekaḥ sūte sakalam-abalā maṇḍanaṁ kalpa-vṛikshaḥ* of the *Meghadūtam*.[71]

---

[52] *Vik*. p. 122.
[53] *Raghu*. VI, 19.
[54] *Ibid*. 65.
[55] *Ṛitu*. II, 19.
[56] *Raghu*. XIII, 48.
[57] *Ibid*. V. 52.
[58] *Vik*. p. 38.
[59] *Raghu*. VI, 68; VII, 50; XVI, 56.
[60] *Ibid*. VI, 14, 53, 73.
[61] *Śāk*. III. 10; VI. 6; *Raghu*. XVI. 73.
[62] *Ibid*. pp. 49, 120.
[63] *Māl*. p. 59; *Raghu*. VIII. 64; XIX, 25, 26, 45.
[64] *Raghu*. VI, 43. *Ku* I, 37; III 55; *Māl*. III, 21.
[65] *Ibid*. VII. 10; XVI. 65; XIX 27, 41.
[66] *Ibid*. XIII. 33.
[67] *Ibid*. VIII. 63; XIII, 23; XVI, 12, 56; *Ku*. I, 34; *Ṛitu*. I. 5; III, 20, IV, 4, *Vik*. III, 15; IV. 30.
[68] *Ṛitu*. III. 27.
[69] See : Upadhyaya, B.S. : *India in Kalidasa*, pp. 202-03, Allahabad, 1947.
[70] *Śāk*. I. 20.
[71] *Megha*. II. 12.

With regard to *nūpura*, though like Vālmīki and Aśvaghosha, Kālidāsa also has preferred to mention this ornament with its name *nūpura* only, yet the occasions he has selected or the events he has picked up to introduce the ornament are unique and peculiar of his type. They add an extra charm to the theme, by enhancing at the same time the significance of the *nūpura* as well.

Before entering into details and glancing at such occasions that Kālidāsa has specially utilized to introduce the anklets, we deem it fit to refer to the anklets of Sītā which she had lost at the time of her abduction. From the description of Vālmīki we have noted above, that Sītā's anklets fell down on earth while she was forcibly being carried away by Rāvaṇa.[72] Vālmīki never bothered to trace them back but Kālidāsa did and did it nicely. Rāma while coming back to Ayodhyā and showing to Sītā all the places of importance where some event or the other has taken place, reaches the point where he has recovered the lost anklets of Sītā. Addressing Sītā, he says that it was the place where he got one of her anklets lying quietly on earth while he was there to search her out :

Sā-eshā sthalī yatra vichinvatā tvāṁ bhrashṭaṁ
mayā nūpurum-ekam-urvyām.

Adṛiśyata-tvach-charaṇ-ārvinda-vishleśa-duḥ khād-iva
baddha-maunam.[73]

Remark of Kālidāsa that the anklet was lying there quietly because of its sad separation from the feet of Sītā goes to prove that in union with her feet the anklets were the same which were described previously as *svanavanti* or the jingling ones.

Out of many occasions Kālidāsa has utilized to refer to the anklets, two such occasions are specially remarkable. One is where he refers to the poetic belief that the red *Aśoka* tree blossoms when

---

72. See note No. 18 above.
73. *Raghu.* XIII. 23.

kicked by the feet of beautiful young ladies[74] and the other one is where he compares the sound of swans (*kūjana-rava-ruta*) to that of the jingling of anklets or vice versa.

With regard to the first feature which is more popularly known as *Aśoka dohada* in the poetic circles though Kālidāsa has made many references to that effect, the occasions where in this connection he has also made a glorified reference to *nūpura*, are only three. One is from the *Kumārasambhava*, another from the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the third one is from the *Mālavikāgnimitram*.

In the *Kumārasambhava* when Kālidāsa refers to the charming effects of Kāma (the god of Love) ready to attack Śiva, he says that the effect of the charm of Kāma was such that *Aśoka* tree which invariably produces flowers only after receiving a stroke of the feet of a *sundarī*, could not wait longer. It became full of flowers with leaves commencing from the trunk itself :

Asūta sadyaḥ kusumāny-aśokaḥ skandhāt-prabhṛi-
ty-eva sa-pallavāni.
Pādena n-āpaikshata sundarīṇāṁ samparkam-āśīñjita
nūpureṇa.[75]

While describing Aja's lamentation for Indumati, in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, Kālidāsa puts the same idea in other words. He says that *Aśoka* which has received the stroke of the feet of Indumati along with the jingling of her anklets as a privilege, is also lamenting on the loss of Indumati in the form of its flowers shed like tears :

Smarata-eva sa-śabda nūpuraṁ charaṇ-ānugraham-
anya-durlabham.

---

[74] Mallinatha while commenting on *Megh.* II, 17 has cited the following verse which summarises the conventions like such, prevalent among the Sanskrit poets :
Strīṇām sparśāt priyaṅgur-vikasati bakulaḥ sīdhu-gaṇḍūsha-sekāt
Pādāghātad-aśoka s-tilaka-kurabakau vīkshaṇ-āliṅganābhyām.
Mandāro narma-vākyāt-paṭu-mṛidu-hasanāch-champako vaktra-vātāch-
Chuto gitān-namerur-vikasati cha puro nartanāt-karṇikārah.

[75] *Ku.* 3.26.

Amunā kusum-āśru-varshiṇā tvam-aśokena sugātri
śochyase.[76]

But, perhaps the best reference to the theme of *Aśoka-dohada* we get is from the *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*. Here on the pretext of *Aśoka-dohada* (*aśoka-dohada nimitto*)[77] Kālidāsa has successfully highlighted the personal charm of Mālavikā and her feet coloured with the red paint (*ālaktaka*) and adorned by the anklets. From the elaborate description of Kālidāsa covering almost one full act of the play, we notice that the act of striking *Aśoka* tree with the feet at least in a palace, was possibly the prerogative of the chief queen, who if she was pleased, could also delegate this privilege to some of her favourties. At least, it has happened like this in the present case where the queen Dhāriṇī has not only delegated this privilege to Mālavikā but has also given her own anklets to her.

Mālavikā says that she has been asked by the queen to perform the formalities of *Aśoka-dohada* and has also been promised a reward of her choice, if within five nights the tree is in flowers : *ādishṭa-āsmi devyā......Mālavike......tvaṁ tāvad gatvā tapanīy-āśokasya dohadaṁ nivartaya-iti yady-asau pañcharātra-abhyaṅtare kusumaṁ darśayati...... prasādaṁ dāpayishyām-īti.*[78] For this purpose, Mālavikā reached near *Aśoka* tree earlier, and was joined by Bakulāvalikā later who also brought the anklets (*charaṇ-ālaṁkāra*) with her. Bakulāvalikā, first of all coloured the feet of Mālavikā with the red paint and then put the anklets on.[79] When the decoration was over, Bakulāvalikā requested the pleasure of Mālavikā to get up and perform the *niyoga* of *Aśoka-dohada* (*halā! uttishṭha aśoka-vikāsayitṛikaṁ devyā niyogam-anutishṭha*).[80]

Once the ceremony of striking *Aśoka* is over, the anticipation of the king whether it will show flowers or not, brings the whole theme to its climax. Addressing the tree of *Aśoka* directly the king says "even after having been honoured by the slender waisted one with this foot of her, tender like a young lotus and loud-tinkling with noisy anklets, if you do not become immediately laden with a wealth of flowers, your cherishing a desire of being so struck, which many of the sportive lovers always long for, is all in vain":

---

[76] *Raghu*. 8.63.

[77] *Mal*. 3.10.

[78] *Ibid*. 3.5. Sanskrit rendering of the Prākṛit portion.

[79] See : *Bakulāvalikā—sakhi...tasmād-ekam te charaṇam-upanaya yāvat-s-ālaktakaṁ-sa-nūpuraṁ cha karomi. Ibid*. 3.10, also see 3.11 and 12.

[80] *Ibid*. 3.14.

Anena tanu-madhyā mukhara nūpur-ārāviṇā
Nav-āmburuha-komalena charaṇena saṁbhāvitaḥ
Aśoka yadi sadya eva mukulair-na saṁpatsyase
Vṛithā vahasi dohadaṁ lalita kāmi sādhāraṇam.[81]

Contrary to the theme of *Aśoka-dohada* where the feet of a lady adorned with the anklets has received prominence, on other occasions Kālidāsa has euologiged the jingling of the anklets of a lady by comparing it with the proverbial sound of swans. In fact, such occasions in the poetry of Kālidāsa are even more frequent than the previous ones. It is under this pretext he has admired the jingling of the anklets of Pārvatī in the *Kumārasambhavam*,[82] that of Urvaśi in *Vikramorvaśīyam*[83] and the swan-like sound of the *pura-sundarīs* of Ayodhyā.[84] Besides this, there are more than half a dozen verses from the *Ṛitu-saṁhāram* where repeatedly the *nūpura-śiñjana* has been compared with the sound of swans.[85]

Apart from the above mentioned two occasions, Kālidāsa has also highlighted the role of the sound of anklets in case of *abhisārikās*—the ladies out in the darkness of night to meet their husbands. Describing the *rāja-patha* of Ayodhyā, he says that there was a time when that very road used to bubble with the sound of the anklets of ladies even during nights.

Niśāsu bhāsvat-kala-nūpurāṇāṁ yaḥ sañcharo
bhūd-abhisārikāṇām.[86]

---

[81] *Ibid.* 3.17.
[82] *Ku.* 1/34.
[83] *Vik.* 4/30.
[84] *Raghu.* XVI. 56.
[85] *Ṛitu.* I.5; II.20, 27; IV. 4 etc.
[86] *Raghu.* XVI. 12.

From the works of post-Kālidāsa period, which display every possible norm of a classical poetry, a good number of references regarding *nūpura* are gathered. This is also the time marked by the composition of a celebrated lexicon in Sanskrit, the *Amara-kośa*; which not only incorporates the current vocabulary of its time in every regard but also deals with the synonyms of the words included therein. Many times, these synonyms have more than one significance as they also reflect on an all-round growth of the language and in certain cases represent even the introduction of new varieties with their names hitherto not used. The last point is specially applicable in regard with the anklets which were so far known with the name *nūpura* only.

Mainly there are eight synonyms of the anklets included in the list of the *Amara-kośa*. They are the *pādāṅgada*, *tulākoṭi*, *mañjīra*, *nūpura*, *haṁsaka*, *pādakaṭaka*, *kiṅkiṇī* and *kshudra-ghaṇṭikā* :

Padāṅgadaṁ tulākoṭir-mañjīro-nūpuro striyām
Haṁsakaḥ pāda kaṭakaḥ kiṅkiṇī kshudra ghaṇṭikā.[87]

The significance of the list supplied to us by Amarasimha is, that probably for the first time it brings into light even those names of the anklets which were hitherto not referred by the poets and the literateurs, though the varieties they represent were already available in the field of visible arts. In fact, what Amarasimha provides us is the result of the comprehensive survey of the language he made, whereas what we gather from the poets is the list of the words of their own choice. Interpretations of the above said names of the anklets, as we shall see later, when compared with the available varieties from the field of art, fully bear out the fact of our statement. The list of Amarasimha, it seems, has been so exhaustive that it has been virtually copied by the compilers of the Sanskrit lexicons of the succeeding centuries.

By this time, as said above also, the Sanskrit literature has witnessed its all-round growth resulting in the composition of so many remarkable works. It is practically impossible for the short-survey like that of ours to review them all and cull out the references from them regarding the anklets. What follows now is the most sketchy account based on the selected works of the later date.

---

[87] *Amara.* 2.6.109-10 (ed. Ramanathan, A.A., Madras, 1971).

Looking forward we come across a bunch of one-act plays (four in number) popularly known as *bhāṇas* or the farces published under the title of *Chaturbhāṇi*. These constitute the *Padma-prābhṛitaka* of Śūdraka, *Dhūrta-viṭa-saṁvāda* of Iśvara-datta, *Ubhayābhisārikā* of Vararuchi and the *Pāda-tāḍitaka* of Śyāmilaka.[88] In accordance with their themes, these *bhāṇas* depicting the world of courtesans around the post-Gupta period, throw a good light on the dress and the ornaments of the beauties of their times.

With regard to the anklets, though all the four plays prefer to call the ornament as *nūpura* only, the situations wherein they have introduced it are worth seeing.

Śūdraka in his *Padama-prābhṛitaka* has referred to the anklets only once and that he has dedicated to the adventurous movement of the beauties called *abhisārikās*. Moving in the dark, these ladies are said to have successfully controlled the undesired jingling of their anklets and the girdles :

Bhaya-drutam-asūchita prachala mekhalā nūpuraṁ
Sa-śaṅka śithil-opagūham-avamukta nīvipatham.[89]

On the contrary the courtesans who delight in the jingling of their anklets at the time of movement are represented in the play by one single character named as *Nūpurasenā*.[90] No wonder, if Nūpurasenā singularly would have commanded over the hearts of her lovers merely by the tinkling of her anklets. The liking of Śūdraka for such figurative names is so much so, that he introduces another character as the daughter of *Nūpurasenā* and names her as a *Rāśanāvatikā*.[91]

---

[88] See *Chaturbhāṇī* edited and translated (in Hindi) with comments by Dr. V.S. Agrawala and Motichandra, Bombay, 1959.

[89] *Ibid. Padma.* 44 (p. 61).

[90] *Ibid.* 16, line 14 (p. 16).

[91] *Ibid. Tāṁ kila Nūpurasenāyā duhitaraṁ Raśanāvatikāṁ nāma vyapadiśati.*

In the *Dhūrta-viṭa-saṁvāda*, Iśvaradatta the poet goes a step ahead in his fancies and compares the anklets as being the readers in the office of Kāma which is another name of the dwellings of courtesans :

Nūpura-svana-gad-gad-bhāshiṇaḥ kāma karmāntabhūtasya veśasya.[92]

Besides, there are also other occasions where the poet has made a special reference to the feet of a lady (*vilāsinī*) raised in love (*lilodyata*) and jingling with anklets (*nūpura-saṁkshobha-ninada-mukhara*).[93] Furthermore, commenting on the sound of anklets of *abhisārikās*, Iśvaradatta says that wearing of anklets in their case really does a great favour :

Nūpura-dhāraṇam hi mahad-upakurute-abhisārikābhyaḥ.[94]

Practically at the time of first union with his beloved, a man feeling already nervous, would never have been able to express himself, had their not been the jingling of anklets :

Prathama-samāgama-nibhṛitaḥ
Katham-ātma-nivedanam janaḥ kuryāt
Pāda-spandana-rabhaso
yadi na syān-nūpura-ninādaḥ.[95]

Śyāmilaka in his *Pādatāḍitakam* seems to be so amused with the all-round effect of the anklets of the ladies, that he dedicates the whole theme of the play to this charm. Since we plan to treat this theme separately in the following chapters, we restrain ourselves here only by citing the invocatory verses he has used in praise of anklets.

According to him the red-painted feet of a lady decked with anklets, when raised towards the head of her lover is ever victorious like the banner of Kāmadeva. It must be greeted by lowering one's head.

---

[92] *Ibid.* Dhūrta. 16.3 (p. 76).
[93] *Ibid.* 28 (p. 88).
[94] *Ibid.* 64.14 (p. 112).
[95] *Ibid.* 65.

Jayati Madanasya ketuḥ
Kāntaṁ pratyudyato vilāsinyāḥ
Śirasā prārthaytavyaḥ
Sālaktaka-nūpuraḥ pādaḥ.[96]

As if to satisfy those, who are still having doubts, he illustrates the point further and asks that during the course of love-quarrels when a lady feeling tipsy, raises her feet jingling with anklets, to kick the lover on his head, and thus because of the slip of her garments exposes her thighs upto the hip-bones, does she really not conquer the hearts of her lovers ?

Praṇaya kalah-odyatena
Śrast-āṁśuka-darśit-orumūlena
Jitam-eva mada-kalāyā
Nūpura-mukhareṇa pādena.[97]

Proceeding further, we pass through the works of Bāṇa which overflow with every kind of information on Indian culture including ornaments. Bāṇa who has a special taste for a rich language and love for picturesque descriptions has referred to the anklets on desirable occasions almost at every step. The fact that he has hardly spared anything which is not referred to in his works[98] is equally true in case of anklets as well.

Before going into other details it is worth mentioning that Bāṇa, probably because of his liking for the high sounding language of a rich quality and the quest for the use of more and more new words has referred to the anklets besides with the name *nūpura* with other names as well. For instance the terms like *tulā-koṭi*[99] or *tulā-koṭi-*

---

[96] *Ibid. Pāda.* 7 (p. 152).

[97] *Ibid.* 8 (p. 152).

[98] Cf. *Bāṇochchishṭaṁ jagat-sarvam.*

[99] *Kādambari* (N.S. edition, Bombay, 1912), p. 116. *Chaṭula-tulākoṭi-vāchāla-charaṇā.*

valaya,[100] *pādābharaṇa*[101] and *haṁsaka*[102] are also used by him in the sense of anklets in addition to the term *nūpura*.

As regards the poetic conventions Bāṇa has utilized in introducing the charms of the anklets, we notice that it is the agreeable sound (*sādhu-dhvani*) or the jingling of the ornament comparable to that of swans which he has preferred the most. How fond he was of this agreeable sound of anklets is clear from the figurative announcement he has made at the very outset of his *Kādambarī*. As per him the jingling of anklets is as pleasing as the sweet words of gentlemen :

Manas-tu sādhu-dhvanibhiḥ pade pade
haranti santo maṇi-nūpurā iva.[103]

It is probably this allurement of the sweet sound that has led Bāṇa throughout his works and except in certain cases[104] made him invariably to believe in the convention that the jingling of anklets of the ladies, is virtually comparable to the sound of swans.[105]

Apart from it, from the descriptions in the *Harshacharita*, Bāṇa's reference to the anklets of Saraswatī is also the one which draws our attention at the first sight. He says that the steps of Saraswatī were musical with a pair of anklets (*nūpura yugala*) that jingled in accordance with the movements (*krama*) of her steps (*pada*), as if they were the two disciples of hers, busy in toning the veda in accordance with the *pada* and *krama pāṭha*. More than the sweetness of the sound of anklets, here it is the sacredness of it which is lauded.

Sishya-dvayen-iva pada-krama-mukhareṇa
nūpura-yugalena vāchālita charaṇā[106]

---

[100] *Ibid*. p. 174.
[101] *Ibid*. pp. 121-22.
[102] *Ibid*. p. 339.
[103] *Ibid*. Verse 6 (p. 3). Also see the commentary of Bhānuchandra which elaborates the point further.
[104] *Ibid*. see p. 261 where he also refers to the convention of *Aśoka-dohada*.
[105] *Ibid*. see pp. 28-29; 116-17; 121; 126-27; 163; 187; 192, etc.
[106] *Harshacharita* (N.S. edition, 1918), p. 8.

Poetic fancies apart, the statement is equally useful as it also reveals the most natural observation of Bāṇa regarding the movement (*pada-krama*) of a lady with her anklets on.

After Bāṇa, in the galaxy of Sanskrit poets, it is probably Māgha who deserves our attention first. With Māgha who was an erudite *paṇḍita* of the Sanskrit language and lexicography, it is more the language part rather than the poetry which needs to be considered. The appreciatory remark of traditional Sanskritist that having gone through the nine cantos of Māgha, the whole vocabulary of the Sanskrit language is exhausted (*nava sarge gate Māghe nava śabdo na vidyate*) is really true to the great extent. Like Bāṇa, Māgha's love for the language, has hardly spared any field unexplored. Variety of jewels and ornaments and the various synonyms of theirs are no exception to that.

Regarding anklets, from the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha besides *nūpura*, his reference to the terms *haṁsaka* and *tulākoṭi* are noteworthy. As considered by the scholars earlier,[107] perhaps the reference to *haṁsaka* type of anklets from Māgha is the best one in whole of Sanskrit literature. He refers to the term in a picturesque fashion while comparing the damsels with the turbulent streams of *Madana*, where their novel is like a whirlpool drowning the *romarāji* and their anklets or the *haṁsakas* like swans. Term *haṁsaka* having a double meaning of anklet and swan both, has a suggestive charm here :

Madana-rasa mahaugha-pūrna-nābhī-hrada-parivāhita
roma-rājayas-tāḥ
Sarita iva sa-vibhrama-prayāta-praṇadita haṁsaka bhushaṇā
virejuḥ.[108]

Curiously enough, as Sivaramamurti points it out,[109] a sculpture from Nagārjunakonda, much before the time of Māgha, has nicely picturised the theme of flowing stream of love (*madana-rasa mahaugha*) where the damsels are shown swimming. Not only this, even *haṁsaka* the resounding jewel *par excellence* and the swan are also shown as if to convey the double entendre of the term suggestively.

---

[107] Sivaramamurti, C., *Sanskrit Literature and Art* : Mirrors of Indian Culture, Delhi, 1970, p. 28.

[108] *Śiśupālavadha*. VII. 23.

[109] *Op. cit.* p. 28. pl. X. no. 33.

Likewise, the name *tulā-koṭi* of anklets, Māgha has referred when he thought of suggesting the slippery nature of the ornament while worn. Appreciating the lovely gait of the ladies he has specially lauded the pleasing sound of ever-moving anklets.

Lilā chalat-strī-charaṇ-āruṇ-otpala-
skhalat-tulākoṭi-nīnāda komalaḥ.[110]

Before summing up this rather longer than expected survey of the Sanskrit literature and anklets, it is a must on our part to take the encyclopaedic works like the *Mānasollāsa* of the Western Chalukyan king Someśvara into account. The *Mānasollāsa* which deals with almost every aspect of the art, culture, science, literature and the music of its time, bespeaks the great interest the royal author king Someśvara took in all the decencies of the fine-arts. For our purposes, the third *Viṁśati* of his work which deals with the twenty kinds of *upa-bhogas*[111] or enjoyments is of special importance. It is here under the title of *bhūshopabhoga*[112] that he deals with so many kinds of gems, jewels and ornaments. Furtheron within this sub-heading during the course of his description of the ornaments like necklace, ear-ring, girdle and armlets, he refers to more than six varieties of anklets along with their names and the make-up.

The first one he has referred to is *pāda-chūḍaka*. It is made of a gem called *hasta-chūḍaka* and further inlaid with so many other jewels. The measurement of this variety is supposed to be of the size of *jaṅghā-kāṇḍa* or the upper part of the leg. There should be a gold-plating on it and the ring of the ornament be divided into three parts which should remain linked with the help of three nails. Likewise four, six or eight joints can also be made where either golden dots or the lines can be drawn.

---

[110] *Śiśu.* 12.44.

[111] *Mānasollāsa*, Vol. II, Baroda, 1939.

[112] *Ibid.* pp. 91-98.

Hasta-chūḍaka-vajrasya jaṅghākāṇḍa-pramāṇakau
Nānā-ratnaiś-cha-khachitau vikhyātau pādachūḍakau
Suvarṇa-rachitau kāryau tribhāge kṛita-khaṇḍanau
Sandhi-deśe su-saṁślishṭau kīlakena cha kīlitau
Chaturasrau shaḍasrau vā tath-āshṭāsrau cha kārayet
Sauvarṇair-bud-budai ramyaiḥ paṅktisthair-vā virajitau.[113]

The second variety he has referred to is called *pāda-kaṭaka* or *pāda-bhūshaṇa.* It should be made smooth-looking and shining, endowed with a jingling sound and be duly decked with gems and jewels of various kinds.

Slakshṇau vā kānti saṁyuktau nādavant-āthavāpi vā
Ratnair-vā vividhair-yuktau kaṭakau pāda bhūshaṇau.[114]

The third one is called *pāda-pāla* which seems to be the real ancestor of our presently known ornament *pāyala.* According to Someśvara, it should be made with the help of three or five chains joint together at a point governed by a nail.

Tri-pañcha śṛiṅkhalā klṛiptau nānā-ratna śataiḥ kṛitau
Kilak-āhita saṅdhī tau pāda-pālāvitīritau.[115]

The fourth variety he describes is called *pāda-ghargharikā.* Probably it is also the ancestral name of the presently known term *ghuṅghurū.* It is made of tiny golden bells joint together with the help of a cord. They produce a most pleasing sound :

Kiṅkiṇyaḥ svarṇa rachitā guṇa-gumphita-vigrahāḥ
Nādavantyaḥ suramyāstāḥ pāda-ghargharik-ābhidhāh.[116]

[113] *Ibid.* p. 97, Verses 18-20.
[114] *Ibid.* Verse 21.
[115] *Ibid.* Verse 22.
[116] *Ibid.* Verse 23.

Varieties of the same type and size but without sound are called *rāḍhaka* and the ones which are broader in shape and curved in a form of a ring are known as *anduka.*

> *Īdṛig-rūpa sam-ākārā nānā-ratnair-vinirmitāḥ*
> *dhvani-hīnāḥ su-śobhāḍhyāḥ rāḍhakāḥ parikīrtitāḥ*
> *Āyatāś-cha suvakrāś-cha kaṭakākāra nirmitāḥ*
> *Andukā iti vikhyātā yoshitāṁ pāda-bhushaṇaṁ.*[117]

---

117. *Ibid.* Verses 24-25.

3

VARIOUS NAMES AND TYPES OF NŪPURA

From the preceding survey of Sanskrit literature, we know that *nūpura* or the anklet has been a popular ornament of the fair-sex in India for a pretty long time. We shall now discuss the various names and types of *nūpura* as gleaned from the literature referred to above and will also witness its actual shape and size with the help of art depictions available to us. By the way of discussing the various names and types of the ornament we also intend to look into the depth of their meanings and see how well they can be interpreted. It was deliberately avoided in the preceding chapter for the fear of being jumbled with so many facts at the same time. For the same reason, what we also avoided there and prefer to discuss now are the countless depictions of this ornament from the field of art, specially sculptures, ranging from the 3rd century B.C. upto the tenth century A.D. Those who have any idea of the vastness of the field both in literature and art, will have all the accord with us that a comprehensive survey of such a vast field is an impossible task. One has to rather pick and choose the relevent references from literature and then compare them with the art illustrations found agreeable.

Considering the names first, we see that the term *khādi* of the Vedic literature is somehow similar in meaning with the term *kaḷā* still prevalent in some of the North Indian dialects. The word *kaḷā*, in all probability seems to be the corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *kaṭaka* meaning a ring. Thus, the Vedic term *patsu-khādi* should be the earlier synonym of the term *pāda-kaṭaka* which has been cited by Amara, as one of the names of anklets. Besides this, the term *kaṭaka* invariably conveying the same meaning as that of a ring, has also been referred in other contexts. For instance, Bāṇa has referred to a kind of foot-soldiers who were known as *kataka-kadambaka,*[1] and the reason for their being called so was, that they were invariably wearing a golden armlet or the *kataka* (*hātaka-kaṭaka*)[2] in their hands as a token of their identity. This *hātaka-kataka* is identical with the term *hiraṇya-khādi* referred to above. The ring with a seal used for joining the copper plates together, on the same analogy is also referred to as *dharma-śāsana-kaṭaka.*[3] Bāṇa has further expanded the meaning of the term *kataka* in the sense of an army and the army camp[4] where the connotation of the term as a circle or a wider ring is obvious.

From the above, we can safely deduce that an anklet in its earlier form was just like a simple ring made of a metallic bar. The fact is also borne out by the art depictions of early stages. In the reliefs from Bharhut there are sculptures where the ladies are shown putting a coil-like ornament on their ankles.[5] In all probability, this is what which is referred to as *kaṭaka* or the *pāda-kaṭaka*. At Bharhut, there are two varieties of *kaṭakas* which are clearly noticed. One is where the metallic bar twisted in a shape of a coil is seen with both of its ends left abruptly (Pl. I, figs. 3-4) and the other one is where the coil is visible more in a ring like form, with both the ends joined properly (Pl. I, figs. 1, 2). Such a prominent form of the ring like anklet is also noticed at Sanchi[6] (Pl. III, fig. 1, Pl. IV, fig. 1). Equally

---

1. *Harsha.* p. 196 : *kaṭaka-kadambakaiḥ kriyamāṇa kolāhalaḥ*
2. *Ibid.* p. 21 : *Vāma-prakoshṭha nivishṭa hāṭakakaṭakena.*
3. *Kādambarī* p. 72 : *Dharma-śāsana kaṭaken-eva sphāṭiken-āksha-valayena.* Also see *Harshacharita* etc. p. 138 and *Kādambarī,* p. 53 of V.S. Agrawala for details.
4. *Harsha.* p. 218.
5. See Coomaraswamy, A.K., *La sculpture de Bhārhut*, pl. VII, fig. 21; pl. XIX, fig. 48, pl. XVIII, figs. 44-46 and Loth, Anne-Marie, *La Vie publique et privee dans 1 Inde Ancienne*, fac. 9, pt. 1, planche 66.
6. Loth, *op. cit.*, planche 68 and Marshall and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. II, pl. XLIV.

there are examples from Karla[7] (Pl. V, fig. 3), Amaravati[8] (Pl. V, figs. 4-5), Mathura[9] (Pl. VIII, fig. 3) and other places, where the same variety of anklet is noticed with a little variation in size. The metallic coils which appear thinner at Bharhut and Sanchi are seen comparatively thicker at Karla and Amaravati. At Mathura, they are again seen thinner in shape, but this time, the number of rings have increased.

Nearer to the meaning of *pāda-kaṭaka* is another term called *pādāṅgada* which literally means an ornament used for the adornment of the feet. Though the etymology of the word *pādāṅgada* as a compound and *aṅgada* as a separate word has been well explained by the commentators on the *Amara*,[10] the real purport of the term has yet remained somehow ambiguous. It becomes clear only when we take the art depictions into account. Our observation of the variety called *pāda-kaṭaka* has shown that in this form the anklet was sitting close to the feet being a little above than the ankle. Based on such a little tight fitting variety, later on, the artists (or the goldsmiths and the craftsmen) developed somehow broader and a little more artistic type of the ornament which is shown, equally sitting tight with the feet. The variety thus developed, certainly adorns (*dāyati*) the part of the ankle (*pādāṅga*) better than the earlier ones. Probably on this account the variety would have received its name *pādāṅgada*. A noteworthy point in this regard is, that it rarely occurs as an independent ornament of the feet. In most of the cases, when a lady is shown wearing anklets of *pāda-pāla* (*pāyala*) type, above that are also shown a pair of bracelet (*aṅgada*) like ornaments. In certain cases, these bracelet like ornaments are substituted by the *kaṭaka* variety of anklets. In fact the latter ones are even more frequently noticed in the sculptures of early period like that from Bharhut (Pl. I, figs. 2, 6 and Pl. XI); Sanchi (Pl. II, figs. 2, 5 and Pl. III, fig. 6), Amaravati

---

[7] Loth, planche 69, Barret, D., *A Guide to the Karla Caves*, pl. III.

[8] Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. II, Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Govt. Museum, Madras* (line drawings).

[9] Vogel, J. Ph., *La sculpture de Mathura*, Ars Asiatica Vol. XV, p. 1.

[10] See *Amara*. 2.6.109 where Kshiraswamy says that *pāde aṅgadam-iva pādāṅgadam*' and *aṅgaṁ dāyati śodhayati, bhūshayati iti vā aṅgadam*.

Pl. V, fig. 5, Pl. VI, fig 1), Mathura (Pl. VII, fig. 3 and Pl. XV, XVI); Nagarjunakonda (Pl. VII, Fig. 4) and others. This more popular variety in our opinion can be termed as *pāda-kaṭaka-mañjīra* type. In comparision to that, the instances showing *pādāṅgada-mañjīra* type or the *pādāngada pādapāla* types are lesser in number. Even then, they are good enough to illustrate the point. In a scene from Amaravati (Pl. XVIII) where the queen Māyā is shown ready for taking bath, her feet are decked with two heavy *mañjīras* and a little above them are also shown what we call *pādāṅgadas*. Another example is found in a sculpture from the shrine of Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva of Arthunā, where a lady is shown wearing *pāyala* and above them a pair of bracelet like ornaments (Pl. XXX). In our opinion, these should be well identified with the type called *pādāṅgada*.

Another important feature of both *pāda-kaṭaka* and *pādāṅgada* types of anklets is that they are made of a solid metal bar. This is why they are also devoid of sound which is so frequently referred to in case of *nūpura* or *mañjīra* types in literature.

This feature of soundlessness (*ravaśūnyatā*) of *pāda-kaṭaka* and *pādāṅgada* types, on account of their being made of a solid bar, is equally noticed in another variety called *tulā-koṭi*. The term *tulā-koṭi* referred to in the literature of the post-Gupta period onwards, means a 'scale-beam tip',[11] This variety presumably resembles the anklets still worn in the Andhra country, in which each of the two ends bear a slight cubical enlargement such as is often found at the ends of a balance beam.[12] In the North, in Rajasthan, U.P. and Bihar, probably what is known as *goḷaharā* or the *goḷsaṅkarā*[13] is the same as *tulā-koṭi*. Bāṇa and Māgha (besides Amarasimha) who have referred to this variety, particularly emphasize the mobile nature of the ornament which goes up and down with the movement of the feet of the lady. Curiously enough, both of them refer to it as *chalat-*

---

[11] Cf. *Tulākṛiter-jaṅghāyāḥ koṭir-iva tulākoṭiḥ* Kshiraswamy on *Amara*. 2.6. 109.

[12] Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures*, p. 114.

[13] *Bṛihat paryāyavāchī kośa*, pp. 146-48, No. 335, ed. Tewari, B.N., Allahabad, 1962.

tulakoṭi[14] in their descriptions. Thus, the idea which is inherent in the maxim called *tulā yashṭi nyāya*,[15] seems also to be vested in the name *tulā-koṭi* because just as the beam of a balance suddenly goes up and again comes down (figuratively also suggesting the nature of the wicked people), the *tulā-koṭi* variety of anklet also goes on moving up and down.

> *Stoken-onnatim-āyāti stoken-āyāty-adhogatim*
> *Aho su-sadṛiśi cheshṭā tulākoṭeḥ khalasya cha*[16]

A point of difference in regard with the size of *tulā-koṭi* variety and that of *kaṭaka* and *aṅgada* varieties is that the former, like the latter do not sit tight with the feet. Their mobile nature itself means that they are made loose and are comparatively bigger in size than that of the latter ones. Though a good number of examples of this variety are available from the folk jewellery of present times, the more classified art of India, exhibits it only now and then. We have illustrated here two such examples of this type. One coming from the Viśvanātha temple of Khajuraho where a flute-player is shown wearing such anklets (Pl. XXXI) and the other one from the famous Raja-Rāni temple of Bhuvanesvara showing a female figure (Pl. XXXV) whose *tulā-koṭi* like anklets are slipping off the feet.

Now, we come to the varieties called *nūpura* and *mañjīra*, which are not only so frequently referred to in literature, but are also variously illustrated in the field of art. Inspite of the fact that there are so many synonyms of the English word anklet in Indian languages[17] and we are not left to feel satisfied only with one word, the term *nūpura* in many cases represents all other names of this ornament as an anklet *par excellence*.

The literal meaning of the word *nūpura* as explained by Kshiraswamy is an ornament which on account of its agreeable sound, praises or extols (*nuvati*) every step of a lady at the time of movement :

---

[14] *Harsha*. p. 163; *Sishu*. 11.44.

[15] Apte's *Sanskrit Dict.*, pt. III: App. B.p. 62.

[16] *Ibid.* quoted.

[17] *Brihat P.K.* lists (pp. 146-74) more than fourty names of anklets only from the North Indian dialects.

nuvati nūpuraṁ; navanaṁ pūrayati vā nūpuram.[18]

In the *Śabda-kalpa-druma*[19] the word is explained as : *nuvi purati iti nūpura*; and *pura* according to this *kośa* conveys the sense of *agra-gamana* (forward-march). Obviously the explanation is based on the observation of poetic references which invariably extol the jingling (*śiñjana*, *kvaṇana*, *raṇana* and *nināda*) of anklets.

In the Pali English Dictionary of the Pali Text Society quoted above, though the word *nūpura* has been considered by T.W. Rhys Davids as of non-Aryan origin, hardly any explanation or an evidence in support of it, is cited. An indirect hint that the word in the Prākṛit language is known as *ṇeura*, *nīdhura* or *nīyura* hardly suffices to convince the point, nor does the reference of the *Therigāthā*, cited by the learned editor therein.[20] Even to day, the corrupt form of the name *nūpura* in some of the North Indian dialects is known as *neura* and *nepura* which hardly means that the word is of non-Aryan origin. Comments of the editors of the *Śabdārtha Chintāmaṇi*[21] and the *Śabda-Kalpa-druma*[22] that the words are thus known in *bhāshā* also intend to support our view, because the *bhāshā* they refer to, owes its origin and development to the language of the Aryan family only. Repeated references to the word *nūpura* and the use of the word *nūpura* alone in the works of Vālmīki, Aśvaghosha and Kālidāsa also strengthen our view.

Resorting back to the explanation of traditional Sanskritists, cited above, we see that even their interpretation as *navati puras-saraṇam iti nūpuraṁ* is not very convincing. At least, it leaves the possibility of another plausible interpretation here and that possibility is inherent in another meaning of the word *pura* itself which

[18] *Amara*. 2.6.109.

[19] *Śabda-Kalpa-druma*, Vol. II, p. 918.

[20] See, P.E.D. (P.T.S.), p. 212.

[21] *Śabdārtha-Chintāmaṇi* p. 1456.

[22] See note 19 above.

forms a suffix of the word *nūpura*. The word *pura* as we already know besides having many other meanings, also conveys the meaning of the female apartments (*antaḥ-pura*) in a palace. Now, if the meaning of the word *nūpura* is construed in the light of this meaning, we may also deduce that the ornament, which on account of its jingling sound specifically extols (*navati*) the existence of the female apartment (*pura*) and the movement of the ladies therein, is *nūpura*. Even now, the sweet sound of anklets caused by the movement of the ladies inside the harem, makes one feel convinced about their presence therein.

Another word referred to by Amarasimha in the same breath is called *mañjira*. Kshiraswamy explains it as *mañju-madhuraṁ īrayati iti mañjīraḥ.*[23] The same word is further explained by others[24] as *mañju-manoharaṁ īrayati dhvanati iti mañjiraḥ* i.e. an ornament which produces a sweet sound. This fact is borne out from our survey of the literature above and it is on this quality of *mañjīra* that Jayadeva has further put his stamps of appreciation in the following words :

Mukharam-adhīraṁ tyaja mañjīraṁ ripur-iva kelishu lolam.[25]

One of the meanings of the word *mañjīra* is also a post round which the string of the churning stick passes. This meaning although given in native lexicons, has not yet been met with in any published text.[26] Presumption of certain scholars that the *mañjīra* anklet is so called because it resembles the coiled strings on the churning stick entwining the leg above the ankle,[27] obviously based on this meaning, hardly carries any conviction. First of all, the unfamiliar meaning of the word *mañjīra* itself is said to be a post only and not the strings; secondly, even if we agree that the post is entwined with the strings coiled round it, and also that it resembles the leg with the coils of anklets on it, the coils made of a solid bar, are hardly supposed to make a beautiful sound, as the scholar quoted above, himself suggests.[28] In the same way, the illustrations, he cites, also contradict each other.[29]

---

[23] *Amara. op. cit.*

[24] *Ibid.* 2.6.109. Commentary of Lingayasūrin (ed. Ramanatham, A.A., Madras, 1971).

[25] *Gitagovinda* 5 and 11.

[26] Williams, Monier, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 774 under the word *mañjīra*.

[27] Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.* p. 114.

Mañjīra appellation in all probability points to the tube, being hollow with in and filled with small stones, which at the time of walking, produce a beautiful sound.[30] At a later date such an anklet retaining stone pieces in side is called *chūrā* by Jāyasī.[31] In the opinion of V.S. Agrawala, it may be identified with the present name of anklets called *jhānjha* or *jhāṅvara*.[32]

Since *nūpura* and *mañjīra* both the names reveal thhe sense highly complimentary of the sound of anklets, we presume them to be the closer synonyms of the same variety. Our survey of the Sanskrit literature also bears out the same fact, where, in most of the cases, these names are used as a substitute to each others. The view is equally supported by the art illustrations which we shall now deal with.

Like literature which is dominated by the frequency of references to *nūpura* and *mañjīra*, the art depictions too teem with the sculptures illustrating this prominent variety of anklets throughout. Right from Bharhut till late, we notice them almost every where. This is the variety in fact which also appears in combination with other varieties like *kaṭaka* and others. A survey of Indian sculptures, presents a good panorama illumined by the presence of *nūpura* or *mañjīra* all the time and thus signifying the popularity enjoyed by this variety through the ages.

In the railings from Bharhut, though in case of the majority of sculptures it is the *Pāda-kaṭaka* variety of anklet which figures more

---

28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.* Pl. VIII, figs. 17 and 19. But what about the fig. 18 there? In our opinion the examples of both the figures (17 and 18) are that of *mañjīra* types and the figure 19 is a *kaṭaka* or *pāda-kaṭaka* as we have explained above.
30. Dhavalikar, M.K., *Ajanta* : A Cultural Study, p. 77 ff., Poona, 1974.
31. *Padmāvat* of Jāyasī, M.M. Commented by V.S. Agrawala, Jhansi, 1955: 299/9.
32. *Ibid.*

frequently, there are examples still where below the *kaṭaka*, close by ankles *mañjīra* is also found in combination[33] (Pl. I, fig. 2). One representative example of such types is the image of Chulakoka[34] *devatā* whose feet are not only adorned with the *mañjīra* type of anklets but who is also answering the often repeated querry of Sanskrit poets by kicking the trunk of a *kurabaka* tree[35] which as a result, is shown in flowers (Pl. XVII). Strangely enough, Cunningham who has though produced the photograph of this image in his monograph on Bharhut, yet in the line-drawings that follow, he has somehow omitted the anklets of this particular variety.[36]

The said sculpture is important for more than one reason. First of all it is one of the early examples which illustrates *nūpura* or *mañjīra* in art. Secondly it also establishes the antiquity of the poetic convention regarding *taru-dohada* or *Aśoka-dohada*. Thirdly it brings forward a feature which is even more interesting. This is about the lady standing on the back of an elephant being a *hastinī* type of lady who is considered as one of the *nāyikās* in the ideal division of the ladies of the classical ages.[37] Although the example being of such an early date may not easily find the favour of scholars in this regard, the details of the sculpture are pretty convincing. The lady while standing on the elephant embraces the tree from the upper left part of her body on one hand and kicks it with her left leg duly adorned with the *nūpura* on the other. The same act is also immitated by the elephant below which not only touches the tree with its left leg of the front, but has also been provided with a *kaṭaka* on its feet. Along with the *nūpura*; *vāmā*, *vāma-lochanā*, *vāmāṅgī* and practically all the names of a lady have received the most appropriate translation in this piece of art.

---

33. Cunningham, A., *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XIV, XV, XVI, XX, XXI, XXII.
34. *Ibid.* pl. XXIII. 3.
35. Sivaramamurti, *Sanskrit Literature and Art*, etc. p. 39, pl. XIV, 43.
36. Cunningham, *op. cit.* pl. Li. Also see Barua, B.M., *Barhut*, pl. LXIV (75) (reprint), Patna, 1979.
37. See *Kāmasūtra* 2.6.2 etc., Benares, 1929. Also see the translation of Upādhyāya, S.C., Glossary, p. 264 (Bombay, 1965).

The position at Sanchi in regard with the *nūpura* or *mañjīra* is altogether different from that of Bharhut. Here it is the *mañjīra* type which has received more prominence.[38] As a result three to four varieties of *mañjīras* are noticed in the sculptures from Sanchi. One is where the upper surface of the tube of the ring shows three separate bands which are interlaced or strung together (*gumphita*). Out of these bands one is shown as made of a plain strip and the two others are made of tiny ball-like dots (*bud-buda*) forming a strip (Pl. II, fig. 1). Second variety is pretty similar to the first one, only difference being, that here there are two bands of a plain strip and only one is made of dots (Pl. II, fig. 2).

The third variety is that which shows three strips enjoined together upside down, which are further crossed at given intervals by three other strips arranged vertically (Pl. II, fig. 4). The fourth one is again a slightly modified version of the third variety (Pl. II, fig. 5) where the strips are arranged in diagonal fashion over-lapping each other. All these varieties of *mañjīras* from Sanchi perfectly agree with the *guṇa-gumphita-vigraha* description of Someśvara we have cited above.

At Sanchi I,[39] there are also varieties of *mañjīras* which are thick, plain and heavier in appearance. Their make up is such that it becomes apparently clear about their being hollow. In certain cases even a pair of anklets each are worn (Pl. III, figs. 2, 3 and 4) as if to demonstrate their lightness in weight.

Passing on to the realm of Amaravati sculptures we notice even more thick and heavy looking *mañjīras*. From a good number of examples represented in the sculptures, it appears that there was a special linking amongst the ladies of those days in that region for this

---

38. See Marshall and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. III, pls. LXXIV-1a; XCI, fig. 88 b, etc. Also see Maisey, *Sanchi and its remains*, pl. V (reprint), Delhi, 1972 and Dhavalikar, M.K., *Sanchi*—A Cultural Study, p. 48, Poona, 1965.
39. Marshall and Foucher, Vol. II, pl. XI and XXVII.

variety of *nūpura*. Another remarkable feature of Amaravati sculptures in this regard is, that they exhibit two such anklets each in every leg.[40] An example in sight is the scene where Māyā surrounded by four of her maid-servants is preparing to take a bath (Pl. XVIII). Here, except the fact that the queen is also provided with a sort of *pādāṅgada* little above her ankles, all the ladies are shown wearing same type of *mañjīras* and curiously enough, all are also having two anklets on each leg. In fact, the whole scene presents a good hoard of anklets which receives better light even than the story of the scene. Worth-noticing in this connection are also the feet of the queen and that of one of her maid servants which are shown having a little swelling as if they are slightly feeling the weight of the ornaments.

Although at first sight, majority of the *nūpuras* of Amaravati look to be plain and simple, virtually they are not so, as becomes clear after a careful observation. They are all having some sort of bands and decorative designs on the surfaces of their tubes (Pl. V, figs. 6, 7, 8 and 9).

Similar examples of *mañjīras* are also noticed in the sculptures from the Karla caves[41] (Pl. V, figs. 1-2) and the stupa of Jaggayyapeṭa[42] (Pl. XIX).

From another famous centre of Indian art of the same region called Nagarjunakonda where the charm of feminine beauty has reached its zenith, a good number of sculptures are seen which display the glamour of anklets in general and the *nūpura* in particular. Little different from the pattern of *nūpuras* of Amaravati, here in the reliefs from Nagarjunakonda they appear with the beaded pattern adorning the legs of the amorous ladies, female attendants (Pl. XX),

---

40. For better understanding see Ferguson, J., *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. LXXXV and LXXXVI, London, 1873. Also see Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures*, pls. V a; XIII-16.
41. Barret, D., *A Guide to the Karla Caves*, pl. III.
42. Burgess, J., *The Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, London, 1887.

apsaras, ladies in *dohada* and in stray examples of dwarfs.[43] The number of anklets worn on each leg range here from one to three, although the frequency of their depiction is more in favour of pairs (Pl. VII, figs. 1, 4, 5-7) only.

Moving towards the North of India, at Mathura the famous centre of art, we once more meet a good number of examples of *nūpuras* adorning the legs of beautiful ladies and thus presenting a good feast to the eyes. From the numerous and all beautiful sculptures of Mathura, if someone is asked, even at random, to point out the sculptures with the most striking examples of *nūpura*, probably the best answer will be to cite the female figures on the balustrades from Bhutesar.[44] These extremely charming ladies from Mathura art, not only display the best known anklets of the *nūpura* types of their times, but also present the cream of everything from the field of ornamentation, decoration, dress and above all the amorous dalliance, known to the all properous age of the Kushanas. Every figure of a lady, because of its all-round perfection and effect, looks like presenting a small monograph on Indian aesthetics wherein the ideals of feminine beauty, held in such a high esteem by the master sculptor of Mathura, are fully incorporated. Such an imparallel beauty is rightly shown by the artist as trampling on the back of an ugly clown (Pls. XI, XII and XXIII) along with the jingling of *nūpuras* on her feet. (cf. *nūpura saṅkshobha ninada mukharasya* and *vilāsinī vāmapādasya*).[45] These are the situations after which the *nūpura* in literature is described acting as the banner (*ketu*) of the god of Love (*Madana*) which everyone desires to pray for :

---

[43] Krishna Murthy, K., *Nagarjunakonda*— A Cultural Study, pp. 104-05, Delhi, 1977. For further details see Rao, P.R., *The art of Nagarjunikonda*, pls. XXIX, XXIV; Longhurst, A.H., *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda*, pl. XXVI, XXXVIII, XXIX, Delhi, 1938; Ray, Amita, Sculptures of Nagarjunakonda, *Marg*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, Bombay, 1965.

[44] Vogel, J. Ph., *La sculpture de Mathura*, pls. XVIII and XIX. See also *A.R.A.S.I.* 1906-07, pp. 137-160, pl. Li a and 1909-10, pp. 62-79, pl. XXVI-a, b.

[45] *Chaturbhāṇī*; *Dhūrta* 28 (p. 88).

Jayati Madanasya ketuḥ
Kāntaṁ pratyudyato vilāsinyāḥ
Śirasā prārthayitavyaḥ
Sālaktaka nūpuraḥ pādaḥ.[46]

Resorting back to the physical side of the *nūpuras* from Mathura, we see that they are of the thick and heavy types. In some cases it seems as if two anklets, with the help of a flower-headed nail are joined together (Pl. VIII, figs. 3, 5). In other cases the heavy-looking ring of the ornament is shown tied with a band of beads (Pl. VIII, figs. 1, 2, 6). There are also examples of a plain and simple type of *nūpuras* which look like a tube turned into a ring (Pl. VIII, fig. 4).

Besides these, there is a variety of *nūpura* seen in the sculptures of Mathura which looks as if made of a bunch of ropes (*guṇa*) strung and twisted (*gumphita*) together. It presents a good example of anklets, described by Someśvara as *guṇa-gumphita-vigrahāḥ*. Out of many examples of this type from the place, we have selected and illustrated here, only two. One is where a young lady is enjoying her bath standing under a water fall, devoid of any kind of garments but well-adorned with the ornaments like necklace, armlets, girdle and the anklets (Pl. XXIV). This sculpture from Mathura, besides illustrating the *guṇa-gumphita* type of *nūpuras*, also demonstrates the fact that the ladies, even while seen in their natural persons, were never parting with the ornaments which were so dear to them.

Another example of this type is the one which illustrates the troop of lady musicians (Pl. XXI), busy in playing flute, *viṇā* (looking like a Harp) and cymbals (?). Out of the three ladies in the panel, the legs of only two are seen which are adorned with the *kaṭaka* and the *mañjīra* type of anklets. The musical instrument seen in the right hand of the third lady which we have casually referred to as cymbals, though not very clear, on account of the size of it and the mode in which the lady is holding it in her hand, makes one also feel tempted to identify it as a *mañjīra* (the musical instrument) of the present times.

---

[46] *Ibid. Pāda.* 7 (p. 152).

In this context of discussing *nūpuras* from Mathura, another panel we have selected is the one which demonstrates the loose-fitting size of *nūpuras* (Pl. XXII). Here a lady attended by two of her maid servants is shown seated on a stool. She has stretched her left leg straight which is held by one of the maids busy in painting her feet. Before starting the paint, it seems the maid servant has pushed the anklet (*nūpura*) of the lady above her ankles. Thus, the *nūpura* is seen now exactly on that part of the leg which is referred to in literature as *jaṅghākāṇḍa*. What Śyāmilaka in his *Pāda tāḍitakam* has attempted to describe as *pārshṇi-gulpha nūpurādhishṭhita jaṅghā kāṇḍāyāḥ tasyā*[47] seems to be the most fitting description of a *nūpura* on the leg of the lady under discussion. It also demonstrates the fact that *nūpuras* were almost double in size than that of *kaṭakas*. Those enamoured with Kālidāsa's *Mālavikā* and *Bakulāvalikā* may also find both of them together, here in this panel.

Like Mathura, from the area of Begram which has received international fame as an established art-centre, particularly of ivory carvings,[48] we equally get examples of so many interesting varieties of *nūpuras* (Pl. IX). The anklets of a lady from Begram seated on a stool, looking in a mirror (Pl. X) are possibly the best ones we have seen so far.

While considering *nūpuras* from various places, it will not be fair on our part to surpass the most charming panel from Deogarh (Pl. XXV) where a lady dancer in the company of four lady musicians, is nicely presented. This classical piece, along with the dress, hair-style and many other remarkable features of the ladies, is also noteworthy for the *nūpura* type of anklets they are all putting on. From this example, it also seems that around the Gupta period, the thickness and the heavy looking size of the ornament were reduced to some extent. Probably the fashion of the day would have changed and the size of the *nūpuras* would have been reduced to the medium one.

---

[47] *Ibid. Pāda.* pp. 228-29.

[48] Dwivedi, V.P., *Indian Ivories*, pl. 59, Delhi, 1976. See also; *Marg*, Vol. XXIV, p. 41, fig. 22.

Having considered the names *nūpura* or *mañjīra* for anklets, we now switch over to another name called *haṁsaka* of the same ornament. Popular meaning of the word *haṁsa* or *haṁsaka* as it is well known is a swan which has frequently been referred to and depicted in the literature and art both. Prof. Vogel has already immortalized the theme of 'Haṁsa in Indian literature and art' in one of his monographs.[49]

Commentators on *Amarakośa* which includes the term *haṁsaka* as one of the synonyms of anklets and refers to it, probably for the first time, have explained the term in two ways. One is where the resemblance of the sound of the bird is considered similar to that of anklets i.e. *haṁsavat kāyati haṁsakaḥ* as explained by Kshiraswamy.[50] The other view holds that this variety is of such anklets which are devoid of sound and it is the shape (*ākṛiti*) of the ornament which on account of its resemblance to the shape of a *haṁsa* that is responsible for the nomenclature : *kāchid ravaśunyāḥ pāda-kaṭakāḥ; haṁsākṛitir-haṁsakaḥ.*[51]

According to the views compiled by the editor of *Sabda-Kalpa-druma*, there are scholars who subscribe to the view that the names of anklets like *pādāṅgada*, *tulākoṭi*, *mañjīra* and *nūpura* which produce a jingling sound should be considered as the variants of the name *nūpura* only. The two other terms called *haṁsaka* and *pāda-kaṭaka* should be those which do not produce any sound.[52]

---

[49] Vogel, J. Ph., *The Goose in Indian Literature and Art*, Leiden, 1962 (Memoirs of the Kern Institute, No. II).

[50] *Amara*. 2.6.109 Commentary part.

[51] *Ibid*. Commentary of Sarvānanda.

[52] *Sabda-Kalpa*, *op.cit. kechit-tu pādāṅgad-ādi chatushkaṁ charaṇa bhūshaṇe nūpura iti khyāte. Haṁsakādi dvayaṁ rava śūnye haṁsākṛiti charaṇa bhūshaṇe ity-āhuḥ. Haṁsa iva kāyati madhura dhvanitvāt haṁsakaḥ; haṁsākṛititvāt haṁsa iva haṁsakaḥ iti vā.*

The problem is that neither the commentators on the *Amara*, nor the editor of the *Śabda-Kalpadruma* are clear about the one and the only meaning of the term *haṁsaka*. Guided by the ever-flexible etymology of the Sanskrit language, they subscribe to both the views and it is here that we feel obliged to look into the field of art depictions with the hope that they may clear our doubt.

As we have seen above, although the *kaṭaka* or the *pāda-kaṭaka* variety is made of a solid metal bar and is thus devoid of sound, we have hardly come across an example which may be said as the one resembling the shape of a *haṁsa*. Therefore, the possibility of *haṁsākṛiti* interpretation of the term, at least in the early stages is ruled out.

As regards the other view which holds that *haṁsaka* is so, because it sounds like a *haṁsa*, we have a good number of literary references to this effect ranging from the period of Jatakas till late. Along with this a good number of examples of *nūpura* or *mañjīra* we have so far witnessed from the field of visual arts, also bear out the same fact and make us feel convinced that more than the shape, it is the sound of a *haṁsa* which is implied in the name *haṁsaka* being an anklet. These arguments in their turn rule out the possibility of *haṁsaka* being an anklet devoid of sound.

This being a specific name of an anklet more dependent on the sound which is abstract in form, a look for such a variety in art is bound to prove futile. Even then, there are occasions when the fancy of the artists has tried its best to match with the fancies of the poets and has come out with some examplary models which do consider this theme. We have come across two such examples from the reliefs of Nagarjunakonda.

One is the *āyaka* cornice-stone depicting a *mithuna* figure considered to be the most impeccably sculptured figure out of all the *mithuna* figures of Nagarjunakonda. For sheer voluptuousness, the bashful lady of the panel, poised on the edge of surrender, is hard to match. It is on the left side leg, near by the anklets of the lady we mark the presence of a *haṁsa* with its mouth raised upwards as if making a sound and with the sound itself justifying the name of *nūpura* as *haṁsaka* (Pl. XIII). On other occasion,[53] we have tried to highlight the other qualities of this panel which is really unique of its type.

The other panel where some scholars have marked the presence of *haṁsaka* with its double meaning of anklet and a swan both, is the one which illustrates prince Siddhārtha in the pleasure garden.[54] In the said sculpture, the beautiful damsels, described in so many words by Aśvaghosha, are shown swimming in the stream of love (probably the *madana rasa mahaugha* of Māgha as Sivaramamurti has interpreted it)[55] where *haṁsaka*, the resounding jewel *par excellence* and the swan both have appeared specially and pointedly for conveying the idea suggestively.

Likewise in another sculpture from a place called Jagat a standing female figure inside a Devi temple is shown (Pl. XXXIV) in the accompaniment of a *haṁsa*, although in this case, she is not wearing a *nūpura* type of anklet. It is the variety called *pāda-pāla* or *pāyala* which she is putting on. No wonder, if the angular curve of this variety, while the lady has put it on, would have inspired the commentators on the word *haṁsaka*, (though quite unconvincingly) to explain it as *haṁsākṛititvāt haṁsakaḥ*. and then, after realizing the fallacy of their own interpretation, as well as, the truth of its resemblance with the sound of *haṁsaka* a bird, they would have modified themselves and have said that *haṁsavat kāyatvāt haṁsakaḥ iti vā*. The said sculpture from Jagat, suggestively presents the part of that commentary before us.

Another sculpture where one may look for the illustration of such an interpretation (of course with a view made linient by the fancy) is a bracket figure (Pl. XXXVI) carved in the interiors of Chennakesvara temple from Belur.

---

[53] Tewari, S.P., *Cultural Heritage of Personal-Names and Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi, 1981.

[54] Longhurst, *op. cit.* pl. XXXVI-a.

[55] *Skt. Lit. and Art*, p. 28.

The names like *kiṅkiṇī* and *kshudra-ghaṇṭikā* of the anklets seem to be only partly relevent. This is why Kshiraswamy has put them separately and has not counted them with the synonyms of *nūpura*. The reason is that neither *kiṅkiṇī* nor the *kshudra-gaṇṭikā* in itself is an ornament. These are in fact, the auxilliaries which add an extra charm and sound to the ornaments like girdles or anklets, whenever they are attached to them. The term *kiṅkiṇī* as explained by Kshiraswamy means a tiny object of metal, which produces a little sound—*kiñchit kiṇati kiṅkiṇī*.[56] In some places, it is also known as *jhiñjhiṇī*. *Kshudra ghaṇṭikā* as per the same authority is the name of small (*kshudrā* or *alpā*) bells (*ghaṇṭikā*) which in certain regions are also known as *kurukā*.[57]

As gleaned from the art depictions, *kiṅkiṇī* in comparision to *kshudra ghaṇṭikā* seems to be a later addition in the field of Indian jewellery. The presence of *kshudra-gaṇṭikā* is noticed as early as in the sculptures from Bharhut (Pl. I, fig. 6). Later on, it is still noticed in some stray examples of the early stages from Mathura (Pl. II, fig. 6). But, as regards *kiṅkiṇī*, we hardly come across any example of it from the early stages. Most probably this feature in art, particularly in case of anklets, would have been introduced in and around Gupta period or may be even later. In fact, we start getting the application of *kiṅkiṇī* with anklets, only after a variety called *pāda-pāla* or *pāyala* is introduced in the field. A curious reference to the courtesans called *dhvaja kiṅkiṇī yuvatayaḥ*[58] from an inscription of a later date, hailing from the area of Rajasthan, also goes to support our view. Dr. Motichandra while commenting on this reference thinks that *kiṅkiṇī* either of the girdle or of the anklet was employed by the courtesans as a token of their trade mark on the banners (*dhvaja*) of their houses.[59]

---

[56] *Amara. op. cit.*

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVI, p. 102, verse 82.

[59] *Chaturbhāṇī, op. cit.* introduction, p. 64, foot note 1.

The name *pāda-pāla* or *pāyala*[60] of anklets as it is more popularly known now, seems to be comparatively of a later origin. Though, on the authority of the Jataka texts, we have referred above, a term called *pālipada* in the sense of an anklet, we still doubt on the exact relationship of the two terms. Even if there is any link, between the two terms on linguistic grounds, this much is certain that the word was out of circulation for a pretty long time, and most probably it was totally forgotten around the time Amarasiṁha compiled his lexicon. We meet the term, for the first time, in the *Mānasollāsa* of Someśvara who has also described the ornament with all its details.

According to Someśvara, *pāyala* is a sort of chain-anklet which is made by arranging three to five chains together. These chains may also be decked with so many kinds of gems. The meeting points of all these chains, after they have been properly mended in a desired shape of a *pāyala*, should be sealed, properly with the help of nails, most probably at two or three intervals.[61]

In the light of such an elaborate description of the chain-anklet variety, we find it difficult to agree with what Krishnamurthy has identified under this variety at Nagarjunakonda.[62] A couple of examples mostly from the area of Rajasthan, we have casually gathered here to illustrate the point, fully bear out the statement of Someśvara.

Among these examples the two standing female figures from the temple of Devi at Jagat (Pls. XXVIII, XXIX) successfully demonstrate how the chains were formed in a shape of an anklet. Though, the anklets these two lady figures are putting on, are made of only two chains joined together, it may not be difficult to a keen eye to locate even such anklets which are made with the help of three or five chains. The practice of making such *pāyalas* is still popular amongst the goldsmiths all over the country.

[60] See Agrawala, V.S. in *Padmāvat of Jāyasi* (Hindi) 296/6 who derives the name *pāyala* from *pādapāla* (i.e *pāda pāla pāyavāla pā-āla pāyala*).

[61] *Manasollāsa, op. cit.*

[62] *Nagarjunakonda, op. cit.* type (b), p. 105.

While talking about *kiṅkiṇīs*, what we have said about a kind of *pāyala* which is enjoined with *kiṅkiṇīs* is also witnessed in another sculpture of the same place (Pl. XXXIV). Likewise, a female figure in the shrine of Nilakantha Mahādeva at Arthunā (Pl. XXX) equally illustrates the variety of *pāyala* enjoined with *kiṅkiṇīs*. Further on we find almost as good as the most modern type of *pāyala* in the feet of the goddesses from Bheraghat.[63] These *pāyalas* do exhibit *kiṅkiṇīs*, sometimes only on the lower side of the chain (Pl. XXXII) while sometimes on both the sides as well (Pl. XXXIII).

Someśvara, while describing a variety called *pāda-ghargharikā* seems to have also referred to *kiṅkiṇīs* in the sense of small bells probably those which are described by Amarasiṁha as *kshudra ghaṇṭikā* earlier. From the details of this variety provided by Someśvara, it appears that the term *ghargharikā* is the same which is known to us now as *ghuṅghurū*—a favourite of classical Indian dancers, which they wear only at the time of dance.[64] The variety being well known and popular, as it is very much in use even today, hardly requires any elaboration. Mīrā in one of her devotional songs, says that she danced and danced endlessly in the love of the Lord Krishna, after putting her *ghuṅghurūs* on—*paga ghuṅghurū bāndhi Mīrā nāchī re.*

In the field of plastic arts particularly at the later stages, whenever there is an occasion of dance, the presence of *ghuṅghurūs* on the legs of lady dancers is invariably marked. A figure of a lady dancer, we have selected here, from the temple of Vishnu at Jajgir, nicely illustrates her *ghuṅghurū* made of tiny bells and joined together with the help of a cord. The charming pose of the lady, who is holding the two ends of the cord in her hands before tying the ornament with her leg raised in action, (Pl. XXVI) most artistically demonstrates the way the ornament was put on. Likewise, another lady figure, from the Pārśvanātha temple of Khajuraho,[65] busy in tying an anklet and also accompanied by an attendant holding the other anklet (Pl. XV) represents the same idea with more elegance and charm. Equally beautiful is the dancer from Jamsot (Allahabad) (Pl. XVI) who is this time shown tying her anklet to the right leg while standing under a mango tree.[66] The personal charm of such type of young ladies in their playful moods, busy in tying their anklets with a slight bent of body, has not been the favourite of artists only, the poets also have equally shared their flavours with them in so many words. Perhaps the remark of Damodaragupta, about one of such ladies, he has seen and appreciated, is the best in sight :

---

[63] Sharma, R.K., *Chaunsathayogini temple of Bheraghat*, pls. 11, 92-93, Delhi, 1978.

[64] Vatsyayana, Kapila, *Classical Indian Dance in Literature and the Arts*, pp. 189, 322, pl. XXXI for a term called *nūpura pādikā chāri*.

Stana-bhār-āvanatasya, pratanor-madhyasya nāsti te-apekshā
Ittham-iva pāda-lagnau krīḍantyā nūpurau rasataḥ.[67]

Apart from the various names of *nūpura* referred to in Sanskrit literature and their possible illustrations in the field of art we have discussed above a good variety of names of this ornament are also gathered from different regions and the languages current there. We have collected a few such names from the Hindi speaking areas and have put them separately under an appendix (A) printed in the *Nāgarī* script. Likewise, in another appendix (B), we have gathered a good number of Sanskrit verses on *nūpura* which are found scattered in the pages of anthologies. Though ananymous as far as their authorship is concerned, these verses from the Sanskrit anthologies, on account of their fancies and the language both, make a good reading. We are sure, they will amuse our Sanskrit knowing readers and will bear out the facts about *nūpura* which we have discussed above.

---

[65] Prakash, Vidya, *Khajuraho*, pl. 31, Bombay, 1967. See also Mehta, R.J., *Masterpieces of the female form in Indian art*, pl. 60, Bombay, 1972; Shastri, A.M., *India as seen in the Kuṭṭanīmatam*, pl. XV, Delhi, 1975.

[66] Chandra, Pramod, *Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*, pl. CXIII, 337, Poona, 1970.

[67] Damodaragupta : *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, 902 (ed. Kaul Madhusudan), Calcutta, 1944.

4

AMOROUS FANCIES BASED ON NŪPURA

The poetic expressions pertaining to passionate love or sexual desire suggested by or treating of love, are classified as the amorous ones. The word amorous is an adjective from *Amor* 'the god of Love', in Roman mythology. It is the same as erotic from *Eros* in Greek language and mythology. Expressions pertaining to love or sexual desire in Sanskrit are put under the class of a *rasa* called *Śṛiṅgāra*. Etymology of the word *śṛiṅgāra* is explained as *śṛiṅgaṁ kāmodrekaṁ ṛichchhati iti śṛiṅgāraḥ*, i.e. a sentiment which elevates the rising of desire is *Śṛiṅgāra* . It has been defined further as *puṁsaḥ striyāṁ striyāḥ puṁsi saṁbhogaṁ prati yā spṛihā, sa śṛingāra itiṁ khyātaḥ kriḍā rātyādi kārakaḥ.*[1] Thus, all the ideas or the poetic expressions which deal with the theme of love where everything of a fair-sex is admired, fall under the class of amorous fancies. It may be the physical charm of the person of a lady, it may be her garments or the glittering shape and the jingling sound of her ornaments, all are equally good to inspire the fancies of poets and literateurs.

In the realm of Sanskrit poetics, the desire of love (*rati*) is defined as a permanent mood (*sthāyi-bhāva*). The theme it depends upon (*ālambana*) for the furtherance of *rasa* is a lady. Other insuants which help in the realization of the desire of love by way of inspiration of excitement are the good landscapes, moon-light, cuckooing of birds, music and other sounds of melodious nature. Such insuants are defined as *uddīpanas*.[2] The jingling of an anklet of a lady is also

---

1. Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 1566. Also see *S.D.* 3.183 (N.S. edition), Bombay, 1936.
2. *S.D.* 3.131. *Uddipana vibhāvās-te rasam-uddīpayanti ye.*

included under this category. Likewise the ladies whose charm, smiles eye-winks and the ornaments are made a theme of description under this class are also classified variously. The most popular ones amongst them whose lust has generally been referred to by the Sanskrit poets are known as *abhisārikās.*[3]

Against this background when we glance over the instances where a reference to *nūpura* is made in Sanskrit poetry, we find that in majority of the cases a tinge of amorousness is always there. In fact the very sound of the ornament (called *kūjana*, *śiñjana* and *raṇana* etc.) which also establishes its existence, is considered amorous in nature. The excitement created by the jingling of anklets inside the palace of Sugrīva was such that it made Lakshmaṇa feel upset.[4]

In order to high light the sensuous jingling of anklets, poets of the later date have preferred to describe the movements of *abhisārikās*. These *abhisārikās* described as the most passionate heroines always eager to go and meet their lovers, have been broadly classified in two major groups. One as a *kulajābhisārikā* or a housewife full of aristocratic modesty in case of her dress, perfumes and ornaments and the other as a *veśyābhisārikā* who deliberately exaggerates in matter of dress and ornaments.[5] Since the *nāyikā* of the former type was supposed to move only after taking a good care of her dress and a control over the exciting sound of her ornaments (*avaguṇṭhana-saṁvītā* and *mūkīkṛita-vibhūshaṇā*),[6] the poets, always desirous of an amorous dalliance, have not chased her much. But, as regards the *veśyābhisārikā* who was supposed to dress herself gaudily with all kinds of garments and jewels (*vichitrojjvalaveshā*) with her anklets and armlets going on tinkling (*raṇan-nūpura-kaṅkaṇā*),[7] they have described her charm to their heart's content. For a student of Sanskrit literature, it is an independent theme in itself demanding a separate treatment. What we are trying to illustrate, are only a few representative cases readily available at hand.

---

[3] *Ibid.* 3.76. *Abhisārayate kāntaṁ yā Manmatha-vaśaṁ vadā*
Svayaṁ v-ābhisaraty-eshā dhīrair-ukt-ābhisārikā.
Also see '*kānt-ārthinī tu yā yāti saṅketaṁ s-ābhisārikā*' of *Amara.*

[4] See note, 21, Ch. II.

[5] *S.D. op. cit.*, 3.77, 78.

[6] *Ibid. Saṁlīnā sveshu gātreshu mūkīkṛita vibhūshaṇā*
Avaguṇṭhana saṁvītā kulaj-ābhisared-yadi.

A well known case of a *veśyābhisārikā* is that of Vasantasenā whose movements are delightfully high-lighted by Śūdraka. He says that Vasantasenā while going to meet her lover was though physically not seen because of the darkness, the smell of her garlands and the resounding of her anklets were the factors which were betraying her at every step. The jingling of her anklets on account of the movements excited and, filled the heart of Śakāra with passion.

Kāmaṁ pradosha timireṇa na dṛiśyase tvaṁ
Saudāminīva jalad-odara sandhi-līnā
Tvāṁ sūchayishyati cha mālya samudbhavoyaṁ
Gandhaś-cha bhīru mukharāṇi cha nūpurāṇi[8]

In the same way, the movement of *abhisārikās* taking place on the *rāja-patha* of Ayodhyā during nights, has attracted the fancy of Kālidāsa :

Niśāsu bhāsvat-kala nūpurāṇām
yaḥ sancharo-abhūd-abhisārikāṇām[9]

Apart from such examples scattered all over the Sanskrit literature, perhaps the best examples are those which we gather from the plays of *Chaturbhāṇī*. As the central theme of these plays itself is erotic in nature, it is but natural that they refer to the sweet and amorous jingling of anklets more, than the anklet as an ornament. According to Iśvaradatta the auther of *Dhūrta-viṭa-saṁvāda*, wearing of an anklet, because of its amorous jingling, does a great favour to *abhisārikās*.

---

[7] *Ibid. Vichitr-ojjvala veshā tu raṇan-nūpura-kaṅkaṇā*
Pramoda-smera vadanā syād-veśy-ābhisared-yadi.

[8] *Op. cit.* Ch. II, note 40.

[9] Ch. II, note 86.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Nūpura-dhāraṇaṁ hi mahad-upakurute-abhisārikābhyaḥ[10]

Much before the lady wearing an anklet meets her lover in person the jingling of anklets reaches him in advance and prepares him for the love that follows. Dwelling further on the same theme, Iśvaradatta says that *Veśa* the residential area of courtesans is like an office (*karmānta-bhūmi*) of the god of Love (*Kāma*)[11] whose existence is made audible only by the sweet jingling of anklets. In his opinion a man at the time of his first meeting with his beloved, feeling a little nervous and hesitant, would have never been able to balance his proposals, had the ever exciting sound of *nūpura* not been there to prompt him :

Prathama-samāgama nibhṛitaḥ
Katham-ātma-nivedanaṁ janaḥ kuryāt
Pāda-spandana-rabhaso
yadi na syān-nūpura-ninādaḥ [12]

Prompted by this sound of *nūpura*, if someone is kissed by such a lady whose face is cleansed by the rains, collyrium of the eyes deshaped and who is whispering something in the ears of her beloved, with her lips being flavoured with a sweet wine, he may easily volunteer even for being hanged head-down amidst the tortures of hell :

> *Evaṁ nūpura śabda-nibodhito-ayaṁ jala-dhara-dhārā-dhauta viśeshakam-āplut-āñjan-āksham-anavasthit-oshṭham-ānanaṁ samadaṁ pītvā yady-avak-chhirā bahūnī kalpāntarāṇi naraka-duḥkhānyanubhavati, tath-āpi tasya yuvati-jana-praṇaya-pratigrāhiṇas-tāni ślāghyāni bhavanti*[13]

Śyāmilaka the author of *Pāda-tāḍitakam*, seems to have been so amused with the sensuous jingling of *nūpura*, that he dedicated the whole play to this theme. In his words the feet of a lady which are decked with *nūpura* and the paint of *ālaktaka* when raised towards the head of her beloved are as victorious as the banner of Kāma the god of Love. For, when a lady feeling tipsy under the effect of wine, raises her legs resounding with anklets and thus exposes her thighs, hardly there may be any one who may stand the tempetations :

---

[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Dhūrta. op. cit.*
[13] *Ibid.* p. 113.

Jayati madanasya ketuḥ
Kāntaṁ pratyudyato vilāsinyāḥ
Śirasā prārthayitavyaḥ
Sālaktaka nūpuraḥ pādaḥ.

and

Praṇaya-kalah-odyatena
Srastāṁśuka-darśit-orumūlena
Jitam-eva mada-kalāyāḥ
Nūpura-mukhareṇa pādena. [14]

Perhaps the most amorous situation presented by Śyāmilaka in the whole of *Pāda tāḍitakam*, in which a *nūpura* is also made a witness, is the one, where a *viṭa* is shown busy in painting the feet of a lady. On account of this painting, says Śyāmilaka, when the lady has raised her anklets above the knee (*pārshṇi-gulpha-nūpur-ādhishṭhita jaṅgh-ākāṇḍāyāḥ*) as also her newly washed and well starched *sārī*, the sharp eyes of *viṭa* could some how get the glance of her secret parts. He was rebuked for this and was also kicked by the lady with her feet adorned by anklets.

Another amorous reference to *nūpura* occurs when a particular position of love-making known as *purushāyita*[15] is made a subject. As per Śyāmilaka, when the sound of a girdle (*mekhalā*) of a lady inside her apartment is clearly audible, but the jingling of her anklets is mute, it is certain that *rāmā* (the woman) has assumed the role of *rāma* (the man) in the course of her union with him :

---

[14] *Pāda*. 7 and 8 (p. 152).

[15] For details on the term *purushāyita* or *viparīta-rati* see *Kāmasūtra* 2. 8. 1 ff. (Benares edition). Also see Upādhyāya, S.C., *Kamasūtra of Vātsyāna*. Ch. VIII, p. 125 ff., Bombay, 1965.

yathā kāñchī śabdaś-charati vikalo nūpura ravāiḥ
yathā mushty-āghātaiḥ patati valay-odghāta piśunaḥ
yathā niś-śūtkāraṁ-śvasitam-api ch-āntargṛiha gataṁ
Dhruvaṁ rāmā rāmaṁ yuvati viparītaṁ ramayati [16]

In order to fully realize the charm of amorous fancies besed on *nūpura*, we may have once more to resort back to the themes like that of *Aśoka-dohada*. As rightly explained by Kālidāsa, this theme of *Aśoka-dohada* in its figurative form, is nothing but another name of the desire of lovers eager to have the touch of the delicate feet of a lady adorned with anklets. He calls *Aśoka dohadaṁ* as a *lalita-kāmi sādhāraṇaṁ.*[17] In the *Saundarānanda* of Aśvaghosha it was this desire of Nanda which made him to bow before Sundarī:

Padbhyāṁ priyāyā nalin-opamābhyām
mūrdhnā bhayān-nāma nanāma Nandaḥ[18]

Based on this theme, Śyāmilaka has nicely developed the plot of his play and titled it cleverly as *Pāda tāḍitakam* or the 'kick of the feet of a lady'. He has also nicely diverted himself from the rigid convention of always handling a happy situation under this condition. In fact, in a most artistic way, even under this situation (where it is the male who is shown eager always to have the touch of the lovely feet of a lady on his head) he has tried to create a sort of *purushāyita*, because in his part of the story, as we shall see, it is not the male who is shown eager, but the female who out of her excessive passion has done it. It is really a curious situation where the feet (*pāda*) of a lady adorned with anklets plays a major role which paves the ground enough for us to go through the whole story.

Śyāmilaka says that once a lady called Madanasenikā (the heroine of his play) in her playful mood touched the head of some one called Vishṇunāga with her feet resounding with anklets. She did it in a most loving way. First of all she removed the loose braid of hair coming on her face and twisted her eye-brows a little.

---

[16] *Pāda*. 87 (p. 217).
[17] See Ch. II, note 81.
[18] *Ibid.* note, 32.

Simultaneously she pricked her lower-lips with her shining teeth. Then, with her shivering face which looked passionate because of her youth and the wine she had, holding with great difficulty her lower garments from slipping down, she placed her feet full with the jingling of anklets on the head of her lover.

> *Utkshipt-ālakam-īkshaṇānta-galitaṁ kopāñchitānta-bhruvā*
> *Dashṭ-ārdhoshṭham-adhīra-danta-kiraṇa-protkampayantā mukham*
> *Śiñjan-nūpurayā vikṛishya vigalad-raktāṁśukaṁ pāṇinā*
> *Mūrdhany-sya sa-nūpuraḥ sa-madayā pād-orpitaḥ kāntayā*[19]

Unfortunately such a sensuous but uncalled for touch of the feet of Madanasenikā, instead of stimulating her lover Vishṇunāga, made him rather feel annoyed. The poor lady in place of being received warmly, was scolded and her sentiments were hurt. This delicate situation in love, provided a chance to the poet to develop his plot in an interesting way.

In course of time, this matter was brought to the notice of the council (*goshṭhī*) of rakes (*viṭas*) who were requested by Vishṇunāga to advise him a suitable expiation against the sin of being touched by the feet of a courtesan. What follows later in the play in the name of comments and advices from rakes, is full of either an outright condemnation of Vishṇunāga, or a sex-stimulant description of the personal charm and the ornaments of Madanasenikā.

One of the rakes, present over there, even before condemning Vishṇunāga, puts the blame on the childishness of Madanasenikā who did like that. In his opinion, that fickle minded lady deserves the ordeal of expiation first, as she misused the magic effect of her feet without realizing its virtues. She did not know that a mere touch of her feet can make *Aśoka* tree blossom even out of season and it is here near the vicinity of her feet that Kāma the god of love resides with all his arrows on. By putting it on the head of that rustic animal, she has not only insulted herself but also the god of Love :

---

[19] *Pāda.* 125 (p. 246).

Aśokaṁ sparśena drumam-asamaye pushpayati yaḥ
Svayaṁ yasmin Kāmo vitata śara-chāpo nivasati
Sa pādo vinyastaḥ paśu śirasi mohād-iva tayā
Nanu prāyaśchittaṁ charatu suchiraṁ saiva chapalā.[20]

In fact what Madanasenikā did was as foolish as like playing *vīṇā* before a donkey, wasting eulogies on a monkey or like mixing the sweet juice of *Sahakāra* (which deserves to be cooktailed with a cup of good wine) with the milk of a buffalo. This comparision, accomplished so figuratively, serves two purposes. On one hand it highlights the charm of Madanasenikā who was just like a *vīṇā*, a sweet verse or a wine and on the other hand it condemns Vishṇunāga by comparing him with a donkey, a *vānara* or monkey or a rough stuff like a buffalo milk :

Upavīṇita esha gardabhaḥ
Sam-upślokita esha vānaraḥ
Payasi bhṛita esha māhishe
Sahakārasya rasaḥ nīpātitaḥ[21]

But, in the opinion of another *viṭa* since Vishṇunāga has shown a disrespect to the loveable feet (adorned with anklets) of that lady, it will be the best punishment for him if his hairs are tied with the girdle of that lady and he is forced to massage her feet while she goes to bed :

Badhyatāṁ mekhalā dāmnā
Samākṛishya kacha-grahaiḥ
Atha tasyāḥ prasuptāyāḥ
Pādau saṁvāhayatv-ayam.[22]

In between so many other suggestions it was also suggested that the 'hairs of Vishṇunāga should be washed with the water, left over

---

20. *Ibid.*, 130 (p. 249).
21. *Ibid.* 131.
22. *Ibid.* 137 (p. 253).

after the wash of the feet of Madanasenikā—*pāda-prakshālanen-āsyāḥ, śiraḥ prakshālyatāmiti.*[23] But it was equally opposed on the ground that an idiot like Vishṇunāga did not deserve to get that water even for a drink what to talk of his having it for a hair-wash.

Finally the best and also the last suggestion which received approval, was given by the senior most rake called Bhaṭṭi Jīmūta. He said that Madanasenikā after finishing her drinks should stand in a style keeping one of her hands on the girdle. Then, she should place one of her *ālaktaka* painted feet duly adorned with anklets on his (i.e Jīmūta's) head and the fool Vishṇunāga, on that occasion, should be allowed only to gaze at him.

Tasyā mad-ālasa vighūrṇita-lochanāyāḥ
Śroṇy-ārpitaika-kara-saṁhṛita mekhalāyāḥ
Sālaktakena charaṇena sa-nūpureṇa
Paśyatv-ayaṁ śirasi mām-anugṛihyamāṇam.[24]

This rather too long a fancy of Śyāmilaka, expressed in the name of expiatory advices, besides having so many gleanings from the field of *Kāmaśāstra*, has one great relevance to us. It is in the fact that the *sumum bonum* of the whole dialogue is the feet of a lady adorned with anklets. Indirectly it also demonstrates the truth, that a delicate feet of a lady, duly painted with *ālaktaka* and adorned with *nūpura* was not a thing meant for the rustic men like Vishṇunāga to look at, but for the *rasikas* to have it on their heads and appreciate.

Śyāmilaka is not alone in his zeal of appreciating the magic effect of anklets on the feet of a lady. Bāṇa, after lauding the charm of anklets in so many words with equal capability has compared the dallying, amorous, voluptuous or the wanton (*lalita*) elegance of ever jingling (*rava-mukharāḥ*) anklets (*pada-haṁsakas*) with the

---

23. *Ibid.* 143 (p. 255).
24. *Ibid.* 147 (p. 258).

gleaming circle of waves of the stream of Love :

Lalita-pada-haṁsaka-rava-mukharāḥ samullasantyo vīchaya iva Śṛiṅgāra rasasya.[25]

Likewise in the opinion of Māgha, who compares the beautiful damsels with the flowing stream of Love, *haṁsaka* or the anklets are the only ornaments which grace the occasion. He compares the delighting world of Kāma with an ocean (*madana-rasa-mahaugha*), the beautiful ladies with the ever flowing stream of *Śṛiṅgāra* there, navel of the ladies with a deep pool and the ever sounding anklets (*haṁsaka*) with the swans :

Madana-rasa-mahaugha pūrṇa-nābhī
hrada-parivāhita roma-rājayas-tāḥ
Sarit iva sa-vibhrama-prayāta
praṇadita bhūshaṇa haṁsakā virejuḥ [26]

Allurement of the ever-exciting *nūpura* was such that even the most saintly poets like Tulasidāsa has to recognise it and register in the statements of no less a person than Rāma himself :

Kaṅkana-kiṅkini nūpura dhuni suni
Kahata Lakhana sana Rāma hṛidaya guni
Mānahu Madana dundubhī dīnhī
Manasā visva-vijaya kahaṅ kīnhī [27]

---

25. *Harshacharita*, p. 132.
26. *Śiśu. op. cit.*
27. *Rāmacharita Mānasa* 1. 229. 1-2; ed. by Misra, Visvanātha, Varanasi (K.R.S.), 1962.

APPENDIX-A

The list of synonyms of *nūpura* prevalent in Hindi speaking regions which somehow could not be incorporated in the main body of the text is placed below. Our information about these synonyms is based entirely on the authority of the *Bṛihat Paryāya vāchī Kośa* edited by B.N. Tewari, pp. 146, 147, Allahabad, 1962.

अँदुक, कड़ा, गूजरी, गोड़, साँकर, गोड़हरा,
घुँघुरु, छड़ा, छरा, छला, छागल, छुगुनू,
जेहर, झाँझ, झाँझड़ी, झाँझन, झाँझर,
झाँझरी, तोड़ा, नूपुर, नेवर, पंदु, पाइल,
पाज़ेब, पायल, पैंजनी, पैरी, बांक, मंजीर,
मंजील, लच्छा, सांकड़ा, गुँगिया, गूंगी, छल्ला, हँसक.

Many of these names of *nūpura*, have also been referred by the poets of Hindi regions in their works. Jāyasi in his *Padmāvat*, without making any difference between a *pāyala* and *mañjīra* refers to it as follows :

चूरा चाँद सुरुज उँजियारा
पायल बीच करहिं झनकारा ।।

(296/118)

Later on, Bihārī, in his *Satasai* (ed. by D.R. Bhaṭi, Delhi, 1969) refers to *pāyala* decked with gems :

पाइल पाइलगी रहै, लगे अमोलिक लाल ।
भोडर हूँ की भासि है, बेंदी भामिनि भाल ।।

(441)

He has also made a note of the role played by *mañjīra* at the time of *viparīta-rati* or the *purushāyita*, we have mentioned above :

पर्‌यो जोर विपरीत रति, रूपि सुरत-रनधीर ।
करति कुलाहलु किंकिनी, गह्‌यो मौन **मंजीर** ।।

(129)

Another Hindi poet called Padmākara who is excessively fond of alliterations in his compositions, has equally lauded the jinglings of *pāyila*, *āṅdū* and *chhalā*. Speaking about a *mugdh-ābhisārikā* in his work called *Jagadvinoda* (Kaśī edition, Saṁ. 2016) he says :

किंकिनी छोरि छपाई कहूँ, कहूँ **बाजनी पाइल** पाइ तेनाई
त्यों पद्माकर पातहूँ के, खरके कहूँ काँपि उठै छवि छाई ।।

(No. 230)

In the same way, while referring to the movements of *madhy-ābhisārikā*, he has made an onomatopoeic use of the sounds of *āṅdū*.

हूले इतै पर मैन महावत, लाज के **आँदू** परे जऊ पाइन
त्यों पद्माकर कौन कहौं गति, माते मतंगन की दुख दाइन
ये अँग अंग की रोसनी में, सुभ सोसनी चीर चुभ्यो चित चाइन ।
जाति चली बृज ठाकुर पैं, '**ठमका ठमका ठुमकी ठकुराइन**' ।।

(No. 232)

Likewise, his quest for an alliteration has twisted the word *pāyala* in more than four different ways :

प्रेम रस भाय लै लगाय लैं हिये सों हित
पायलैं लै पहिरि प्रभा सों पागियतु है ।
ए री ! मृगनैनी तेरी **पायलगि** बेनी यातें
पायलगि तेरे फेरि **पायलागियतु** है ।।

(No. 640)

But, when he swiched over to the love-exploits of *chhaliyā* (Lord Krishna) his quest for an alliteration in the name of *chhalā* and *chharā* (the anklets) has possibly reached to its climax. Here, he has not touched anything but *chha* :

छाँह छ्वै **छला** छ्वै छिगुनी छ्वै **छरा** छोरन छ्वै
छलिया छबीलो छैल छाती छ्वै चलो गयो ।।

(No. 657)

APPENDIX-B

In the chapter dealing with the antiquity of *nūpura* as an ornament, although we have tried our best to incorporate every useful and relevent reference to the ornament, we have yet not been able to include a good number of examples scattered in the pages of Sanskrit anthologies. It is because of two reasons. One is that the material gathered from such works whose authorship is known to us beyond any dispute, is itself so complete and exhaustive that it hardly gives any chance to the verses from anthologies. Secondly, since the authorship of many verses found in anthologies, is either not known at all or if known, it is not beyond doubt. Many times, the verses from anthologies, as regards the matter of factness, repeat almost the same thing which we have already gathered from the works of better authenticity.

Inspite of all, importance of the verses gathered from anthologies referring to *nūpura* cannot be minimized. They are full of fancies, lingual charms and over all a flavour which is cent percent literary in its taste. They may not be so good for the matter of factness, but they are certainly good for an utmost realization of the glittering and the jingling of the ornament. We are sure they will make a good reading to the *rasikas* of Sanskrit language and literature. This is also the reason why we have planned to put them in their *Nāgarī* characters.

For this purpose, the basic work we have made use of is the '*Subhāshita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāram*' enlarged and re-edited by N.R. Acharya, and published by the N.S.P., Bombay (1952). More than thirty—thirtytwo verses we have gathered here from this anthology, make a reference to *nūpura* in different contexts. We have indicated the context of every verse within brackets.

(मंगल)

ग्रानन्द मन्थर पुरन्दर मुक्त-माल्यं
मौलौ हठेन निहितं महिषासुरस्य,
पादाम्वुजं भवतु वो विजयाय मंजु
मंजीर शिंजित मनोहरमम्बिकाया : ।।

(pp. 12-13/17)

दिश्यान्महासुर शिरः सरसीप्सितानि
प्रेङ्खन्नखावलि मयूख मृणाल-नालम् ।
चण्ड्याश्चलच्चटुल **नूपुर**-चञ्चरीक
झांकार हारि चरणाम्वुरुहद्वयं वः ।।

(p. 13/21)

जंघा काण्डोरुनालो
नख-किरण लसत्केसराली-करालः
प्रत्यग्रालक्तकाभा
प्रसर किसलयो मंजु **मंजीर** भृंगः ।
भर्त्तुर्नृत्तानुकारे
जयति निज तनु-स्वच्छ-लावण्य वापी
सम्भूताम्भोज शोभां
विदधदभिनवो दण्ड-पादो भवान्याः ।।

(p. 13/50)

(काव्य-प्रशंसा)

ग्रध्वनि पद-ग्रह परं मदयति हृदयं न वा न वा श्रवणम्
काव्यमभिज्ञ सभायां **मंजीर** केलि वेलायाम् ।।

(p. 31/13)

(सामान्य-कवि-चर्चा)

मौलौ मन्दार-दाम भ्रमदलि पटली काकलीं श्रोणि बिम्वे
कूजत्काञ्ची कलापं चरण-कमलयोर्मंजु **मंजीर** शिंजाम् ।
उत्संगे कीर गीतिं स्तन भुवि मसृणं वल्लकी पंचमं वा
यत्काव्ये दत्तकर्णा शिव-शिव मनुते भारतीं भारमेव ।।

(p. 34/67)

(अरि-पलायनम्)

आत्ते सीमन्त रत्ने मरकितिनि हृते हेम ताटंक पत्रे
लुप्तायां मेखलायां कनक मणि **तुलाकोटि** युग्मे गृहीते ।
शोणं बिम्बौष्ठ कान्त्या त्वदरि मृग-दृशामित्वरीणामरण्ये
राजन्गुंजा फलानां स्रज इति शबरा नैव हारं हरन्ति ।।

(p. 133/43)

(नर्तकी)

स्वेद क्लेदित कंकणां भुजलतां कृत्वा मृदंगाश्रयां
चेटी हस्त समर्पितैक चरणा **मंजीर** संधित्सया ।
सा भूयः कुच कम्पसूचित रयं निश्वासमामुञ्चती
रंग स्थानमनंगसात्कृतवती तालावधौ तस्थुषी ।।

(p. 208/38)

(बाला-वर्णनम्)

कुंकुम पंकेनांकित देहा गौर पयोधर कम्पित हारा
नूपुर हंस रणत्पद पद्मा कं न वशीकुरुते भुवि रामा ।

(p. 253/13)

एताः स्खलत्वलय संहृति मेखलोत्थ झंकार **नूपुर** रवाहृत राजहंसाः
कुर्वन्ति कस्य न मनो विवशं तरुण्यो विश्वस्त मुग्ध हरिणी सदृशैः कटाक्षैः ।।

(p. 253/25)

(चरणौ)

अमूल्यस्य मम स्वर्ण **तुलाकोटि** द्वयं कियत् ।
इति कोपादिवाताम्रं पाद-युग्मं मृगीदृशः ।।

(p. 269/403)

नितम्ब पीड्यमानेन पाद युग्मेन सुभ्रुवः
कृता भ्रूकुटि भंगीव नील **नूपुर** मालया ।।

(p.269/408)

चरण-कमलं तदीयं लाक्षा बालातपेन संवलितम् ।
अध्यास्त भृंग-मालावलिभिर्मणि खचित **नूपुर-व्यजात्** ।।

(p. 269/409)

अननुरणन्मणि-मेखलमविरल शिंजान मंजु **मंजीरम्**
परिसरणमरुण चरणे **रण रणकमकारणं** कुरुते ।।

(p. 269/410)

(अभिसारिका-संचार-कथनम्)

उरसि निहितस्तारो हारः कृता जघने घने
कल-कलवती काञ्ची पादौ रणन्मणि **नूपुरौ** ।
प्रियमभिसरस्येवं मुग्धे त्वमाहृत डिण्डिमा
यदि किमधिक त्रासोत्कम्पं दिशः समुदीक्षसे ।।

(p. 298/17)

वातोद्धूत मुखी प्रनष्ट-तिलका तोयार्द्र नीलांशुका
मेघानां निनदेन भीत हृदया गत्वा प्रियस्यालयम् ।
द्वारं नेच्छति लज्जया प्रलपितुं देहीति वर्षाहिता
पादौ **नूपूर** कर्दमप्रतिहतौ संशब्दयन्ती स्थिता ।।

(p. 298/19)

मुक्तं मौक्तिकदाम हेम वलय-श्रेणी समुत्सारिता
वासो नीलमुरी कृतं नियमितो **मंजीर** कोलाहलः ।
गच्छन्त्या तव साहसं न सहते तन्वंगि संगोपनं
घम्मिल्ल-च्युत मल्लिका परिमल प्रौढो निशीथानिलः ।।

(p. 298/20)

(नायक-शिक्षा)

सालक्तकेन नव पल्लव-कोमलेन पादेन **नूपुरवता** मदनालसेन
यस्ताड्यते दयितया प्रणयापराधात् सोऽङ्गी कृतो भगवता मकरध्वजेन ।।

(p. 310/3)

सालक्तकं शतदलाधिक कान्ति रम्यं
रत्नौघ धाम निकरारुण **नूपुरं** च

क्षिप्तं भृशं कुपितया तरलोत्पलाक्ष्या
सौभाग्य-चिह्नमिव मूर्न्धि-पदं विरेजे ।।

(p. 310/4)

सा बाढं भवतेक्षितेति निविडं संयम्य बाह्वो स्रजा:
भूयो प्रक्ष्यसि तां शठेति नितरां संभर्त्स्य संतर्ज्य च ।
आलीनां पुर एव निह्नुति पर: कोपाद्रसन्**नूपुरं**
मानिन्याश्चरण-प्रहार विधिना प्रेयानशोकी कृत: ॥

(p. 310/6)

(सुरत-प्रशंसा)

आकाशे नटनं सरोरुह युगे **मंजीर** मंजु ध्वनि:
शीतांशौ कल कूजितं किसलये पीयूषपानोत्सव:
स्वर्ग क्षोणिधरे नखात्परिभवो ध्वान्ते कराकर्षणं
रम्भायां रसनारवस्तरुण यो: पुण्यानि मन्यामहे ॥

(p. 317/9)

(सुरत-केलि-कथनम्)

चारु **नूपुर** झणत्कृतं रते कामिनां हरति मानसं यथा
नो तथा मधुर-गीत वादितं केकि-चातक पिकस्वना अपि ॥

(p. 318/8)

नैषा वेगं मृदुतर तनुस्तावकीनं विसोढुं
शक्ता नैनां चपल नितरां स्वेदयेन्दीवराक्षीम् ।
रत्यभ्यासं विदधत इति प्राणनाथ स्य गत्वा
कर्णोपान्ते निभृत-निभृतं **नूपुरं** शंसतीव ॥

(p. 319/37)

धम्मिल्लो भंगमेतु प्रविशतु तिलक: केशपाशान्धकारं
पत्राली गण्डपालीं त्यजतु च विवरं कर्णयोर्गन्तुकामा ।
वामाया: कान्त दत्त-क्षततति सहने एक एवाधरोऽसौ
वीर: कामाहवेस्मिन्निति वदति मुहुर्नूपुर: **क्वाण** भङ्ग्या ॥

(p. 320/51)

(विपरीत-रति-क्रिया)

प्रशान्ते **नूपुरावे** श्रूयते मेखला-ध्वनि: ।
कान्ते नूनं रति श्रान्ते कामिनी पुरुषायते ॥

(p. 320/1)

(देशान्तरोपगतो नायकः)

निशम्य केली भवनोपकण्ढे **मंजीर** मंजु-ध्वनिमध्वनीनः ।
यथा तथा बद्धकथावशेषं समापयामास समं सुहृद्भिः ।।

(p. 330/2)

(वसन्त-वर्णनम्)

रणत्कंकणानां **झणन्नूपुराणां** चलत्कुण्डलानां क्वणत्किंकिणीनां
वधूनां मुखाम्भोरुहं द्रष्टुकामो रथं मंथरं चक्रबन्धुश्चकार ।।

(p. 331/2)

(अभिसारिका)

भ्रातः कंकण किं कदाप्यसि घनाश्लेषेषु विश्लेषितं
दूरे किंकिणि किं कृताप्यसि रतारम्भे रणत्कारिणि ।
किं **मंजीर** बहिः कुतोप्यसि रहस्तल्पाधिरोहे मया
संकेताध्वनि बद्ध वैरमिव यन्मौखर्यमालम्बते ।।

(p. 356/29)

उत्क्षिप्तं झर कंकण द्वयमिदं बद्धा दृढं मेखला
यत्नेन प्रतिपादिता **मुखरयो मंजीर**यो मूकता ।
आरब्धे रभसान्मया प्रिय सखि क्रीडाभिसारोत्सवे
चण्डालस्तिमिरावगुण्ठन पट-क्षेपं विधत्ते विधुः ।।

(p. 357/0)

एषा फुल्ल कदम्बनीप सुरभौ काले घनोद्भासिते
कान्तस्यालयमागता समदना हृष्टा जलार्द्रालिका ।
विद्युद् वारिद गर्जितैः सचकिता त्वद्दर्शना कांक्षिणी
पादौ नूपुर लग्न कर्दम धरौ प्रक्षालयन्ती स्थिता ।।

(p. 357/31)

मार्गे पंकचिते घनान्धतमसे निःशब्द संचारया
गन्तव्या च मया प्रियस्य वसतिर्मुग्धेति कृत्वा मतिमू ।
आजानूद्धृत नूपुरा करतलेनाच्छाद्य नेत्रे भृशं
कृच्छ्रेणाप्त पद स्थितिः स्वभवने पन्थानमभ्यस्यति ।।

(p. 357/32)

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

Plate I : Line drawings 1-6, based on the sculptures of Bharhut (c. 2nd century B.C.) reproduced in Coomaraswamy's book '*La sculpture de Bharhut*'.

Fig. (i) *Kaṭaka* variety, after pl. VII, fig. 21.
(ii) *Kaṭaka* with *nūpura*, *Ibid.* pl. XIX, fig. 48.
(iii) ,, ,, ,, pl. XVIII fig. 46.
(iv) *Kaṭaka* variety ,, pl. ,, fig. 47.
(v) ,, ,, pl. XIX, fig. 47.
(vi) *Pāda-kaṭaka with kshudra-ghaṇṭikā.*

Plate II : Line drawings based on the sculptures from Sanchi II (2nd-1st century B.C.); Mathura (1st century B.C.) and Bodh Gaya (1st century B.C.). Figures from 1 to 5 are from Sanchi and 6 and 7 from Mathura and Bodh Gaya.

Figs. (i)and (ii) *Mañjīra* types drawn after pl. LXXIV-1a of *the Monuments of Sanchi* by Marshall and Foucher, Vol. III.
(iii) *Kaṭaka* type. *Ibid.* pl. XCI, fig. 88 b.
(iv) Variety in *Mañjīra*. *Ibid.* pl. LXXXVII, fig. 71 a.
(v) ,, ,, ,, ,,
(vi) A chain type with bells (?) from Mathura. After pl. XVII, b. of Vogel's '*La sculpture de Mathura*'.
(vii) *Kaṭaka* and *Pādāṅgada* types after a sculpture from Bodh Gaya.

Plate III : Line drawings (1-6) made after the sculptures reproduced in *the Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. II (from Sanchi I).

Fig. (i) *Kaṭaka* type, *Ibid.* pl. XLIV.

(ii) *Mañjīra* type, *Ibid.* pl. XI.

(iii) to (v) ,, ,, *Ibid.* pls. XXVII, XXIV, LVIII.

(vi) *Kaṭaka mañjīra* type, *Ibid.* pl. XLIII.

Plate IV : Line drawings after the sculptures from Sanchi I and Kondane.

Fig. (i) Long coil-like *kaṭaka*-type from Sanchi.

(ii) *Mañjīra* type from Kondane.

Plate V : Line drawings after the sculptures from Karla Caves (Figs. 1-3) and Amaravati (Figs. 4-9).

Figs. (i) and (ii) Heavy *mañjīra* types.

(iii) Thick coil-like *kaṭaka*.

(iv) A long coil-like *kaṭaka* based on Amaravati sculpture in the Madras Museum.

(v) *Kaṭaka-mañjīra* type. Based on Amaravati sculpture in the British Museum.

(vi) *Mañjīra-dvaya* and *pādāṅgada*. Based on Amaravati sculpture in the Madras Museum.

(vii) *Mañjīra* with beads. *Ibid.*

(viii) *Mañjīra-dvaya.* Based on a sculpture reproduced by Bachhofer in his *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. II, pl. 120.

(ix) *Mañjīra-dvaya-pādāṅgada.* A sculpture in the British Museum. Reproduced by Fergusson in his *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. LXII.

Plate VI : Line drawings based on the last phase of Amaravati sculptures kept in Madras Museum; reproduced by Mr. Sivaramamurti.

Figs. (i) to (iii) are of *Mañjīra-dvaya-pādāṅgada* types.

(iv) A special type of *Pādāṅgada.*

Plate VII : Line drawings based on the sculptures from Nagarjunakonda (3rd century A.D.) reproduced by Rao, P.R. and Longhurst.

Figs. (i) to (iv) and (vi) are of *Pādāṅgada Mañjīra* types.

(v) Single *mañjīra* type. After Longhurst, pl. XXXVIII a.

(vii) *Mañjīra-dvaya* type. *Ibid.* pl. XXIX.

Plate VIII : Line drawings based on Mathura sculptures (2nd century A.D.) reproduced by Vogel (*La sculpture de Mathura*).

Figs. (i), (ii) and (iv) to (vi) all are different types of *Mañjīras.*

(iii) is a *kaṭaka-mañjīra* type.

Plate IX : Line drawings based on Ivory carvings from Begram (2nd century A.D.) reproduced by Loth, A.M. in his book, *La Vie publique et prive dans l' Inde ancienne*, pl. 71.

Fig. (i) *Mañjīra.*

(ii) *Mañjīra-kaṭaka.*

(iii) *Mañjīra-dvaya.*

(iv) *Mañjīra.*

(v) *Mañjīra.*

(vi) *Mañjīra-dvaya.*

(vii) „ with flowery designs.

Plate X : Ivory sculpture from Begram, showing a lady arranging her ear-rings, wearing anklets.

Plate XI : Figure of *Śālabhañjikā* from Sonkh-Kushana Period, Mathura Museum, Mathura.

Plate XII : A lady standing on a clown wearing *mañjīras*. Balustrades from Bhutesar mound, Mathura, now kept in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Drawing after Vogel's '*La sculpture de Mathura*', pl. XVIII, b.

Plate XIII : A *mithuna* figure on the *āyaka* cornice stone from Nagarjunakonda. A *haṁsa* seated near the left leg of the lady justifies the name *haṁsaka* of anklets. Drawing made after Rao, P.R., *The Art of Nagarjunakonda*, pl. XXXII.

Plate XIV : A bracket figure from Jamsot (Allahabad) wearing *Pāda-kaṭaka* and *Pāyala*, 12th century A.D. Drawing after Pramod Chandra's *Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*, Pl. 343.

Plate XV : A lady figure from the Parśvanatha temple of Khajuraho, busy in tying an anklet, accompanied by an attendant holding the other set. Drawing after Shastri, A.M., '*India as seen in the Kuṭṭanimatam of Damodaragupta*, Pl. 30.

Plate XVI : Bracket figure from Jamsot showing a lady putting her anklets on. 12th century A.D. Drawing after Pramod Chandra, Pl. 337.

Plate XVII : *Taru-dohada* or the flowering of the *kuravaka* tree by the embrace of a lovely damsel, wearing *kaṭaka-mañjīra* in her feet and touching the trunk of the tree with the toe of her left leg. Bharhut. 2nd century B.C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Plate XVIII : A panel from Amaravati showing the bath of Māyā. Remarkable are the heavy looking pairs of *mañjīra*'s in each leg including that of maid-servants.

Plate XIX : A fragmentary panel from Jaggayyapeta showing Māndhāta and his *Rājya-lakshmī* wearing *mañjīras*.

Plate XX : A lady musician playing *vinā* or a voilin, wearing *mañjīras*, part of a panel from Nagarjunakonda.

Plate XXI : A troop of lady musicians busy playing flute, *vinā* and *mañjīra* (cymbals). All are wearing *kaṭaka* and heavy type of *mañjīras*. Sculpture in the Mathura Museum, c. 3rd A.D.

Plate XXII : Another sculpture from Mathura Museum (3rd century A.D.). One of the *nūpura* of the lady seated on a stool is pushed near the *gulpha* by the maid busy applying paint on her feet.

Plate XXIII : Yakshi figure wearing heavy anklets (two in each leg) standing on a clown; shown busy talking to the parrot; Mathura, 2nd century A.D. Sculpture is now in the National Museum, New Delhi.

Plate XXIV : A lady figure from Mathura (2nd-3rd century A.D.) shown as taking bath under a water fall. Though having no raiment on her person, she is still wearing necklace, armlet, girdles and anklets. Sculpture is now in the National Museum, New Delhi.

Plate XXV : A lady dancer along with the troop of lady musicians from Deogarh (5th-6th century A.D.) Look the medium size of *Mañjīras* they are all putting on.

Plate XXVI : Figure of a lady dancer from the Vishnu temple at Jaujgir (c. 8th-9th century A.D.), shown busy in tying her *ghunghurūs*.

Plate XXVII : A lady shown in one of her particular poses of dance (*kaṇṭaka pāda-lagnā*) wearing *pāyala* type of anklets. Sculpture from the temple of Devi at Jagat (c. 9th-10th century A.D.).

Plate XXVIII : Another lady figure wearing *pāyala* from the same temple.

Plate XXIX : Another lady figure in a pose of *alasakanyā*, from the same temple. The *pāyala* she is wearing looks a little different than that of other ladies. It seems to be made with the help of *kiṅkiṇīs*.

Plate XXX : A female figure from the shrine of Nīlakaṇṭha Mahadeva at Arthuna (9th-10th century A.D.); modelled in a pose of *kapi-kupitā*. Besides the *pāyala* she is wearing, remarkable are the ornaments she has worn above the ankles. We have identified them as *pādāṅgadas*.

Plate XXXI : A lady from the Viśwanātha temple, Khajuraho (c. 10th century A.D.) playing a flute. The anklets she is wearing look like *goḷaharā* or the *tulā-koṭi* types.

Plate XXXII : Details of the lower part of the image of Śri Vaishṇavi from Bheraghat (c. 10th century A.D.). She is shown wearing *pāyala* types of anklets which look as good as the modern ones.

Plate XXXIII : Details of the lower part of the image of another *yoginī* from the same place, also wearing *pāyala* types of anklets.

Plate XXXIV : A lady figure from the temple of Devi at Jagat (c. 9th-10th century A.D.) standing in a dramatic (*abhinaya*) pose. She is wearing *pāyala* made of two chains and *kiṅkiṇīs*. Presence of a *haṁsa* near the left leg of the lady confirms the ornament being a *haṁsaka* type.

Plate XXXV : A famous and often reproduced figure of a lady from the Raja-Rani temple at Bhuwanesvar (11th century A.D.). The anklet slipping off her foot seems to be the *tulā-koṭi* type answering the descriptions like *chalat-tulākoṭi*.

Plate XXXVI : Figure of a *madanikai* on a pillar bracket in the temple of Chhanakeśvara at Belur (12th century A.D.). Besides, *pādāṅgadas* she is wearing, remarkable is also the *pāyala* of her right leg, shape of which may be fancied as being the two wings of a *haṁsa*.

PLATE I

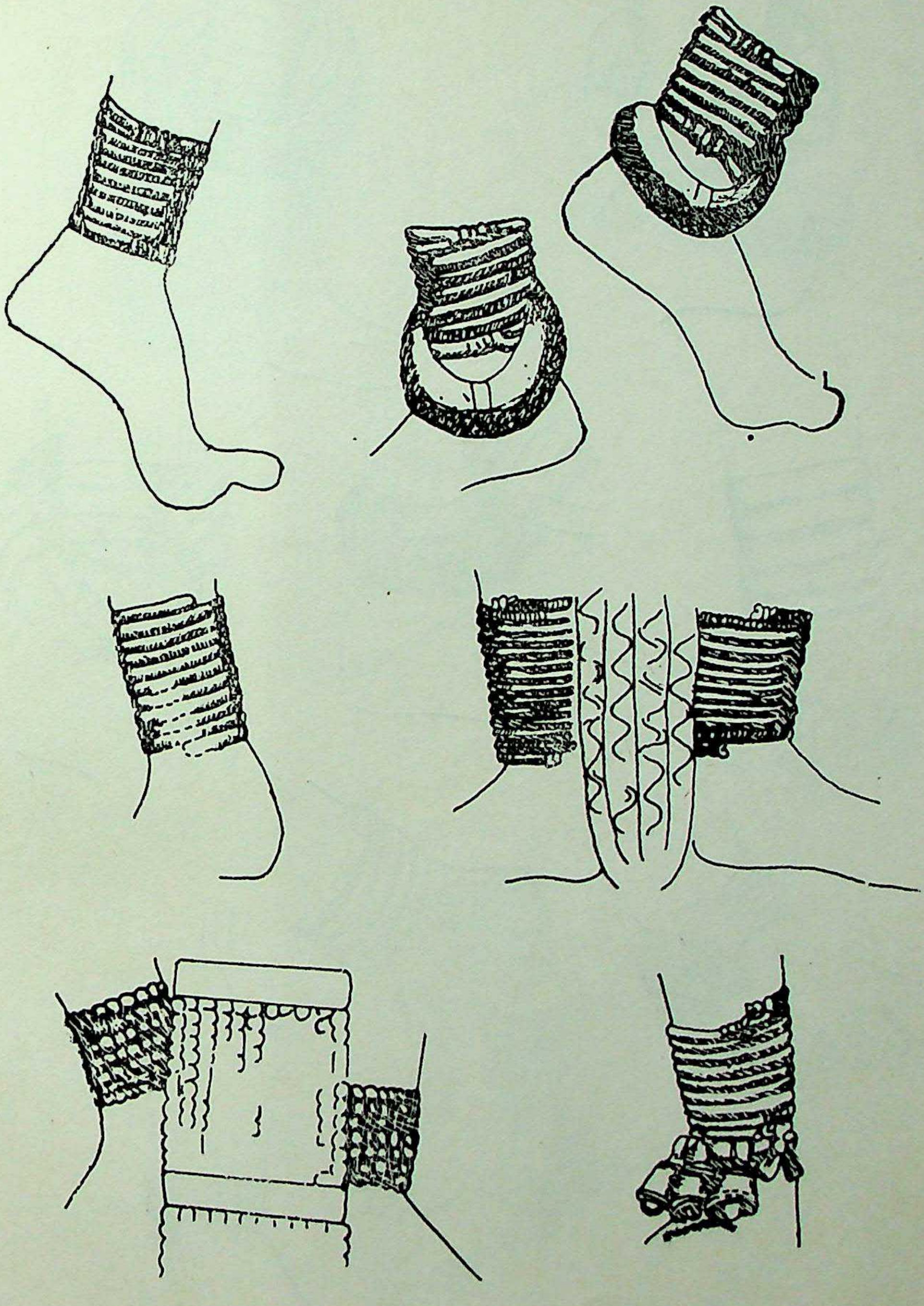


PLATE II

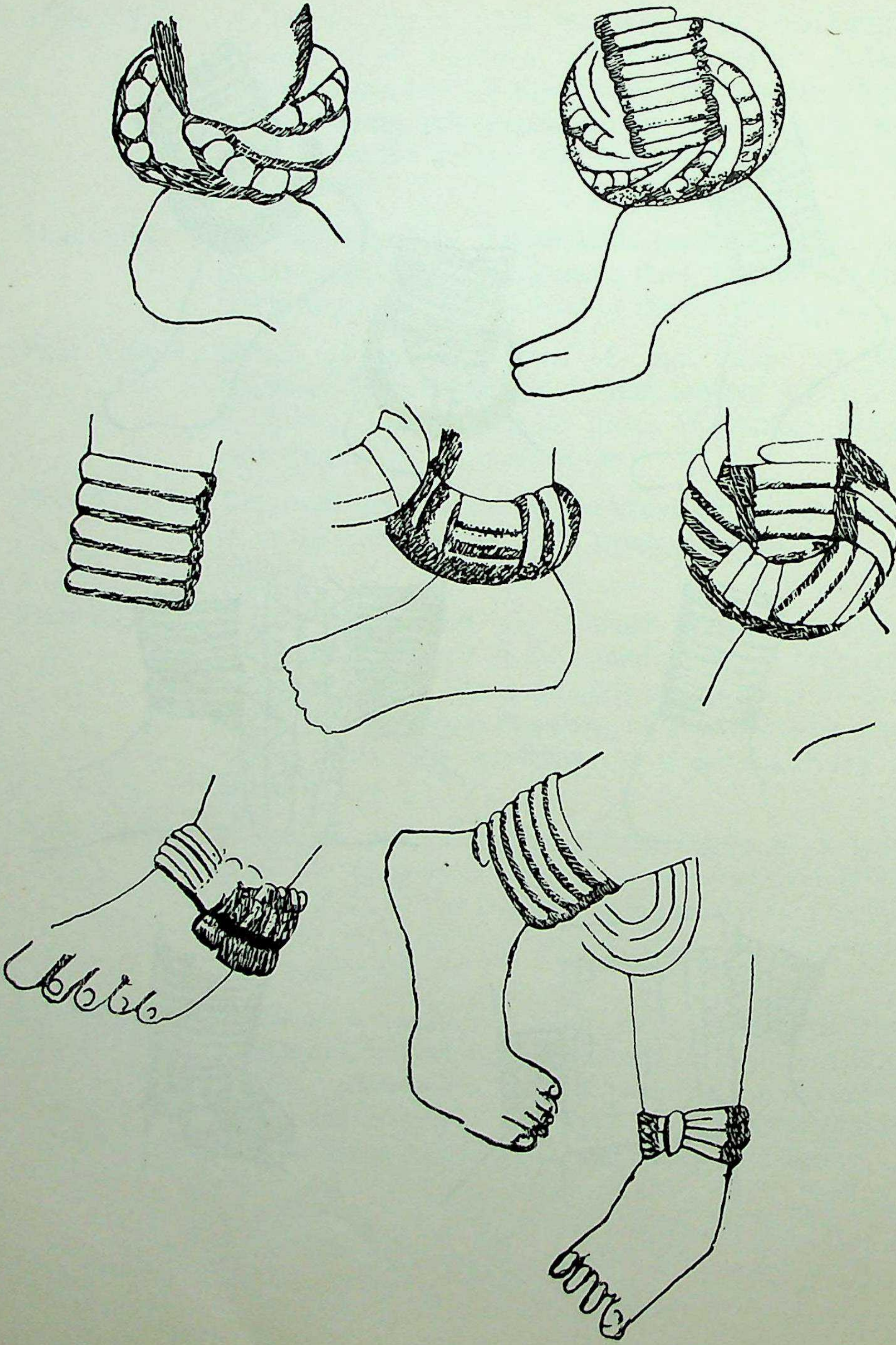
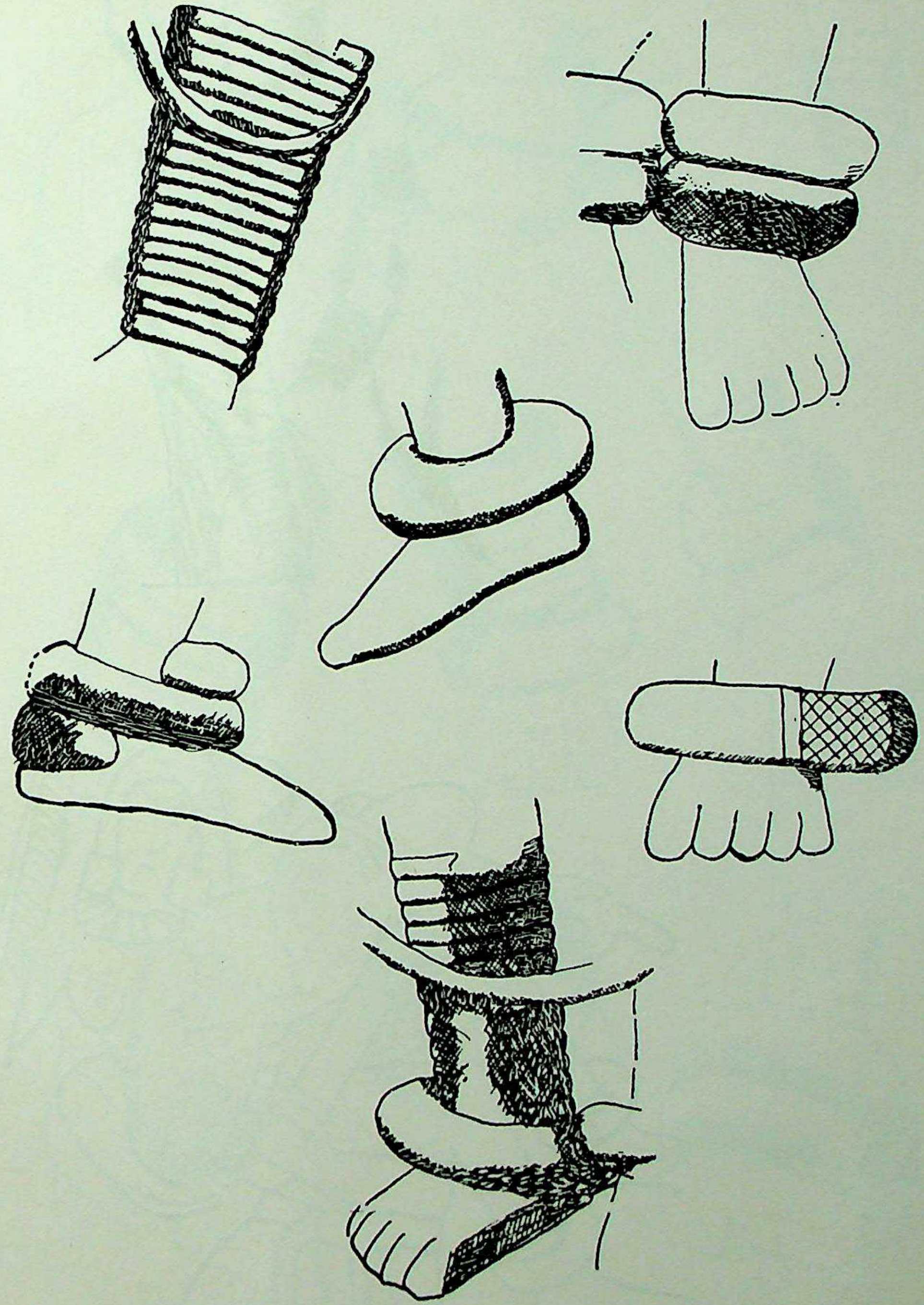
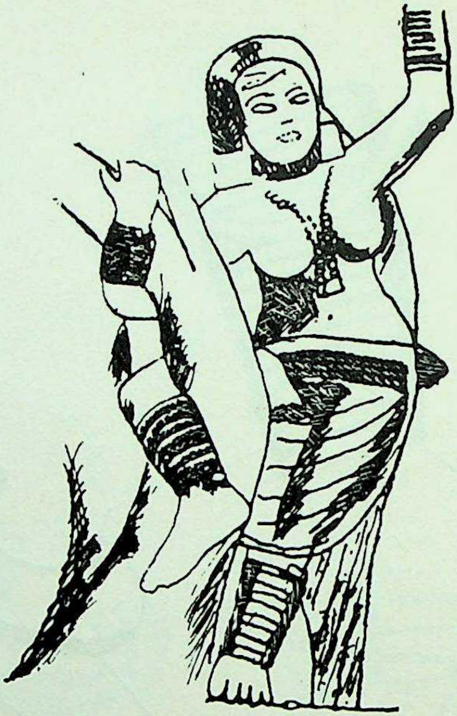


PLATE III





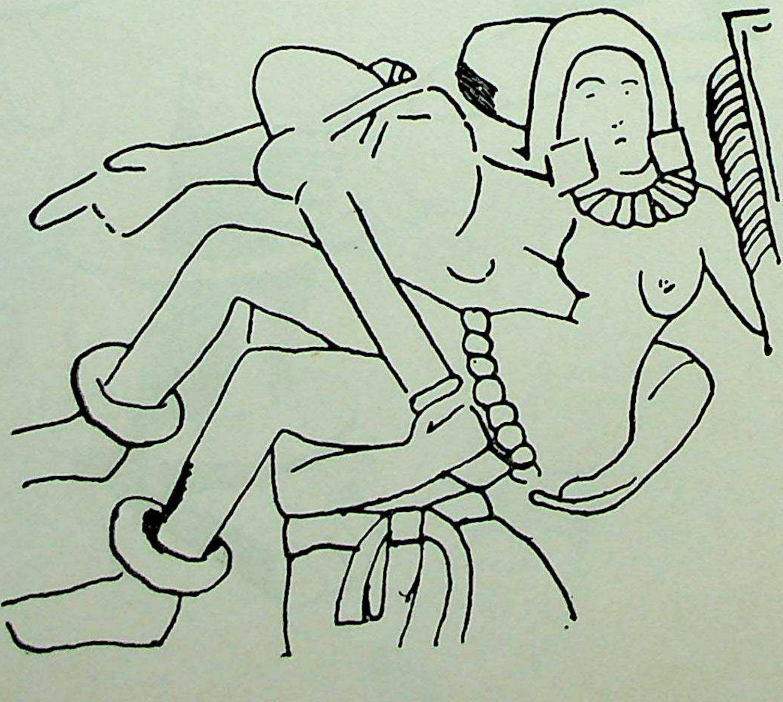
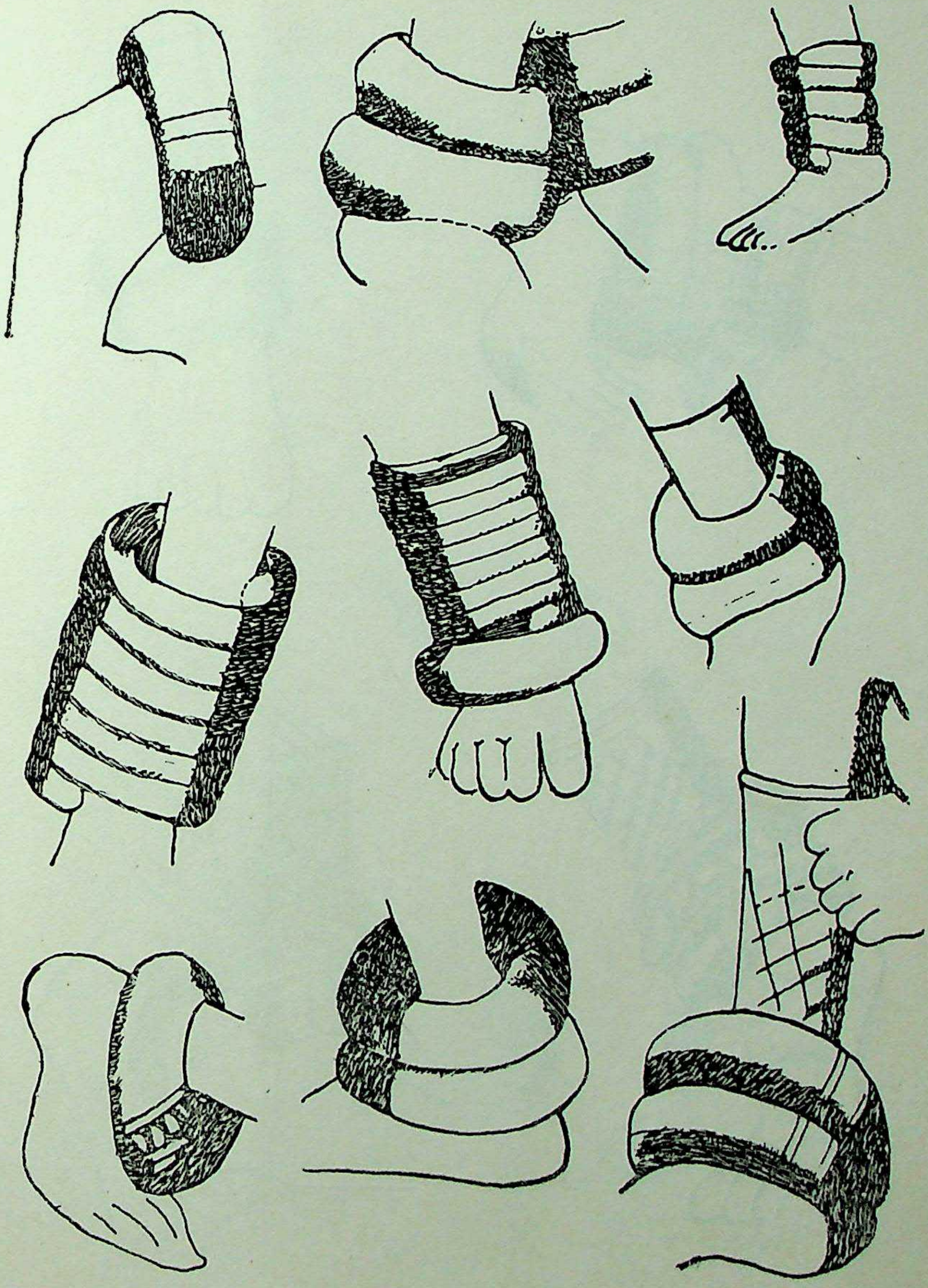
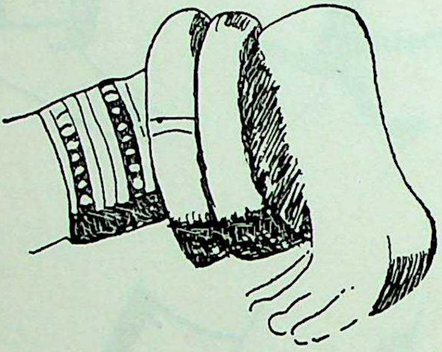
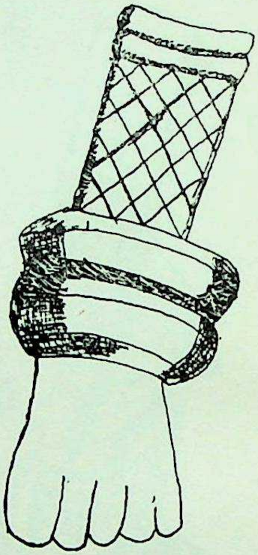


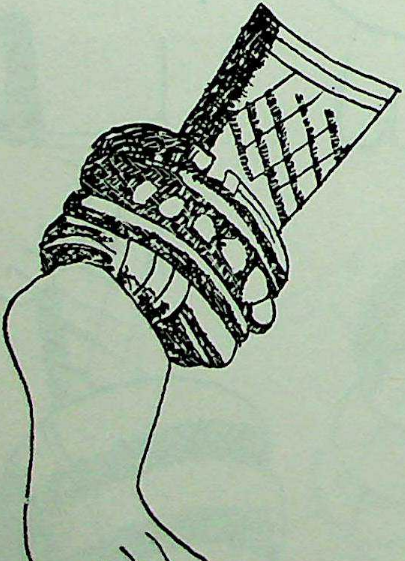
PLATE V



PLAET VI







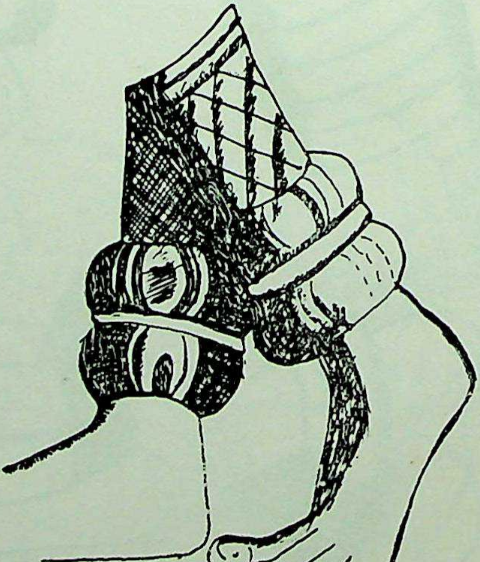


PLATE VII

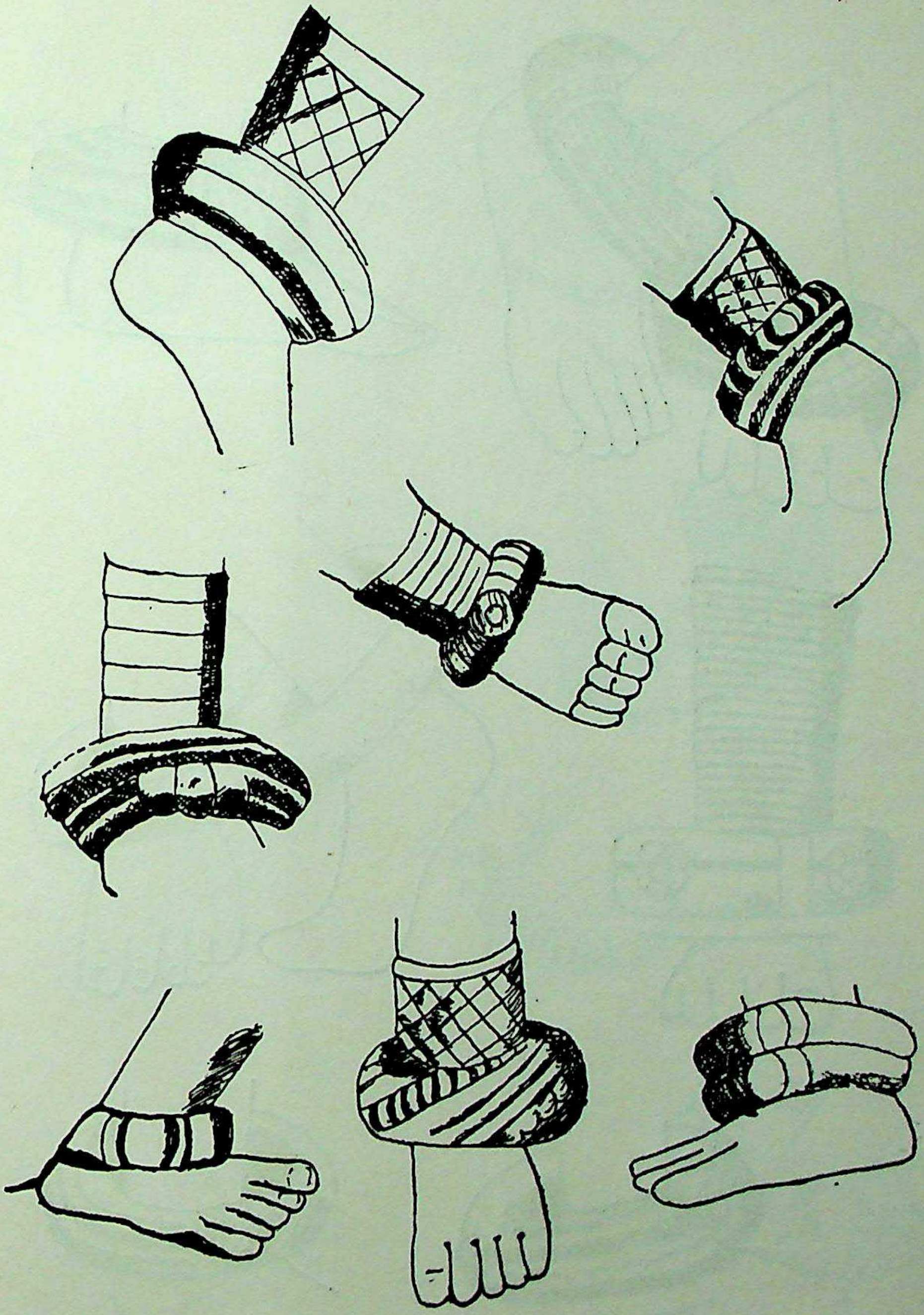
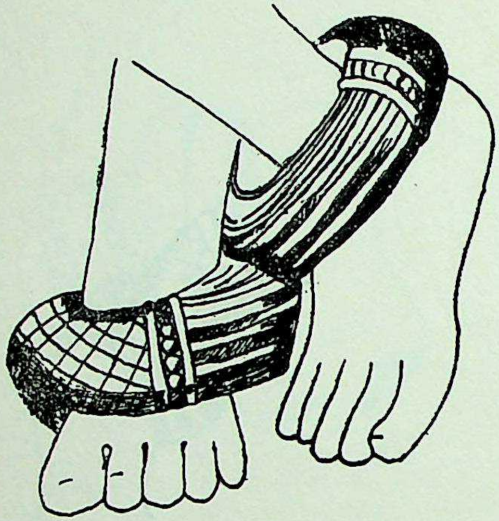
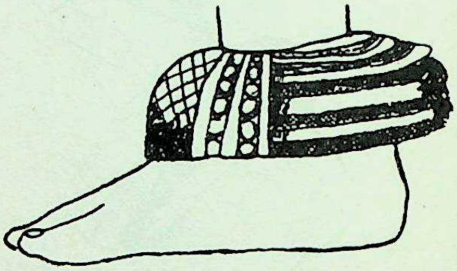
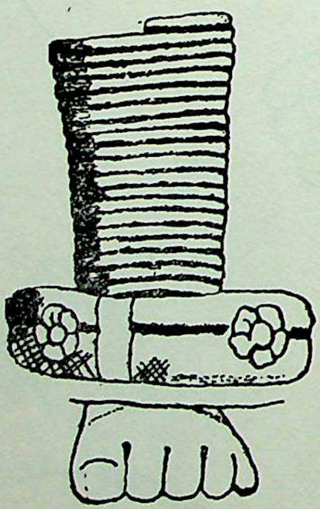
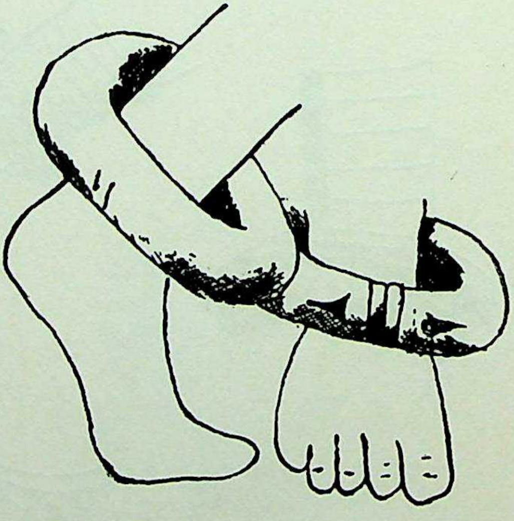


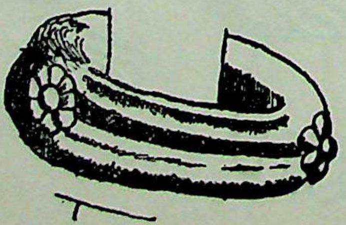
PLATE VIII











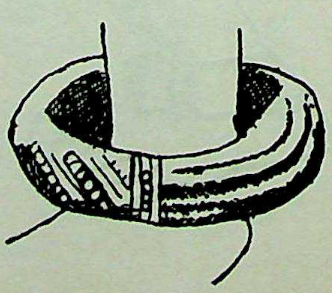
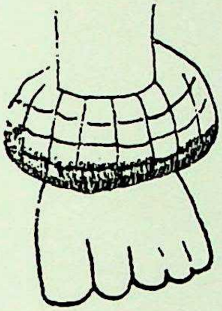
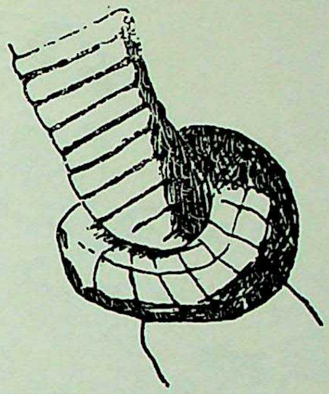
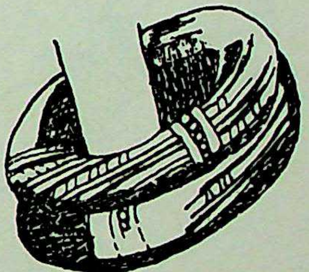
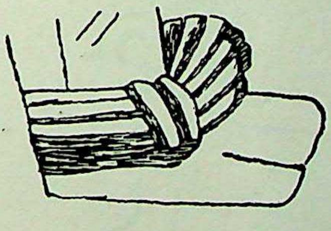


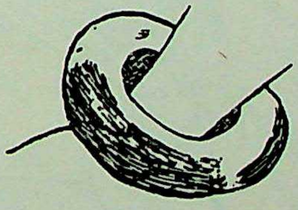
PLATE IX

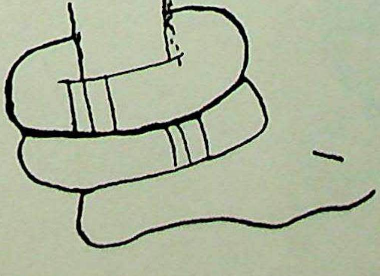












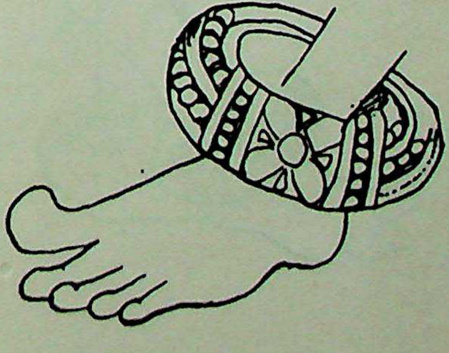
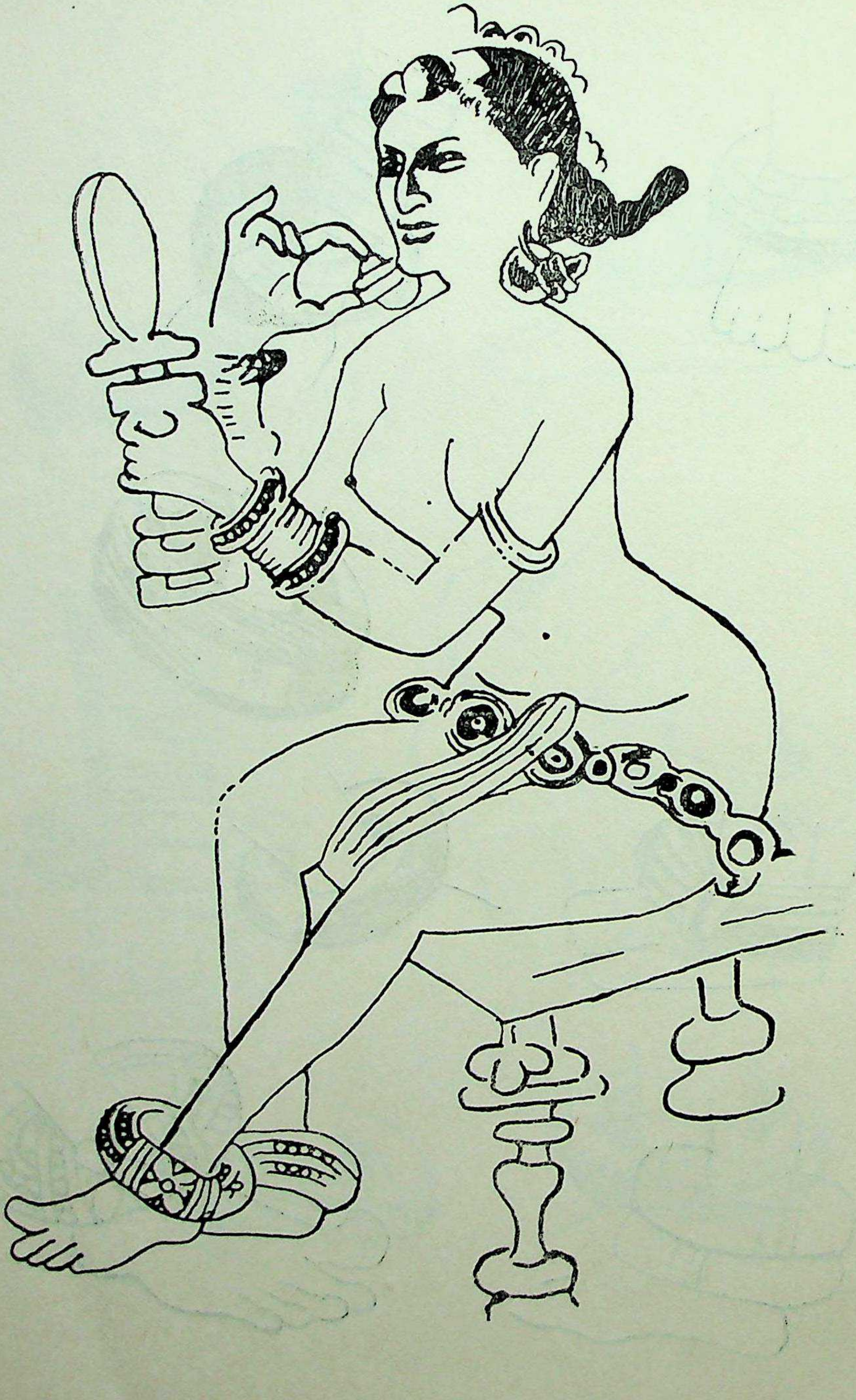


PLATE X



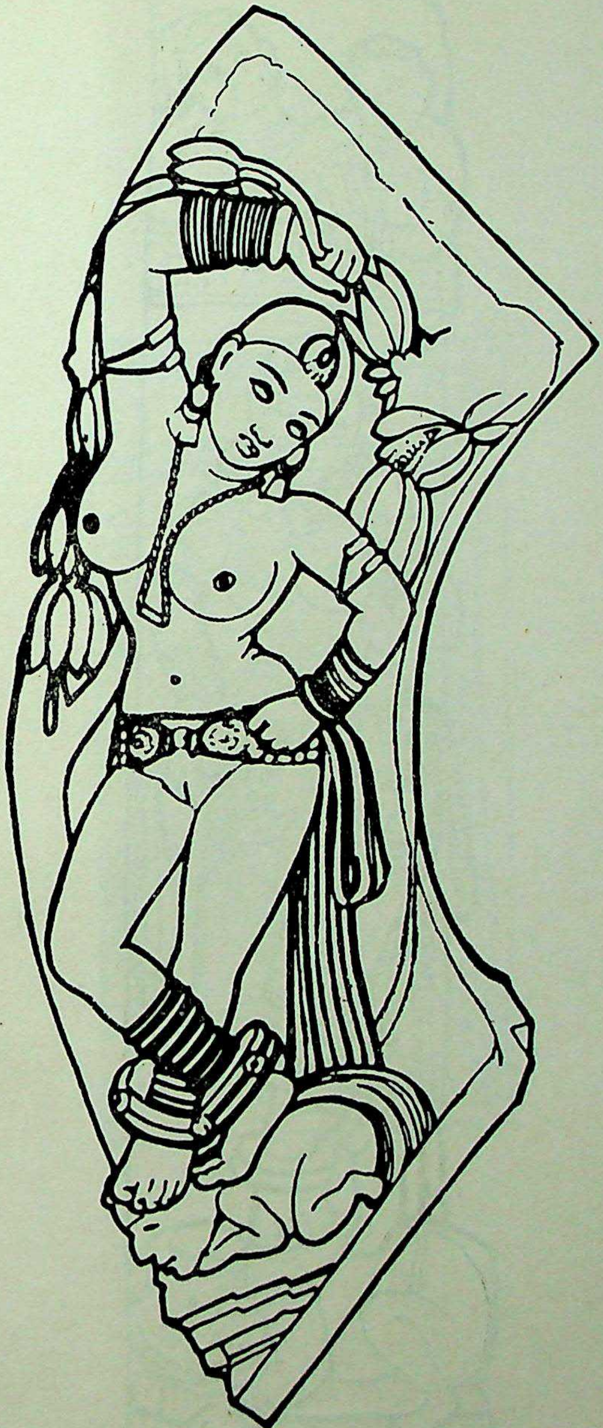


PLATE XII

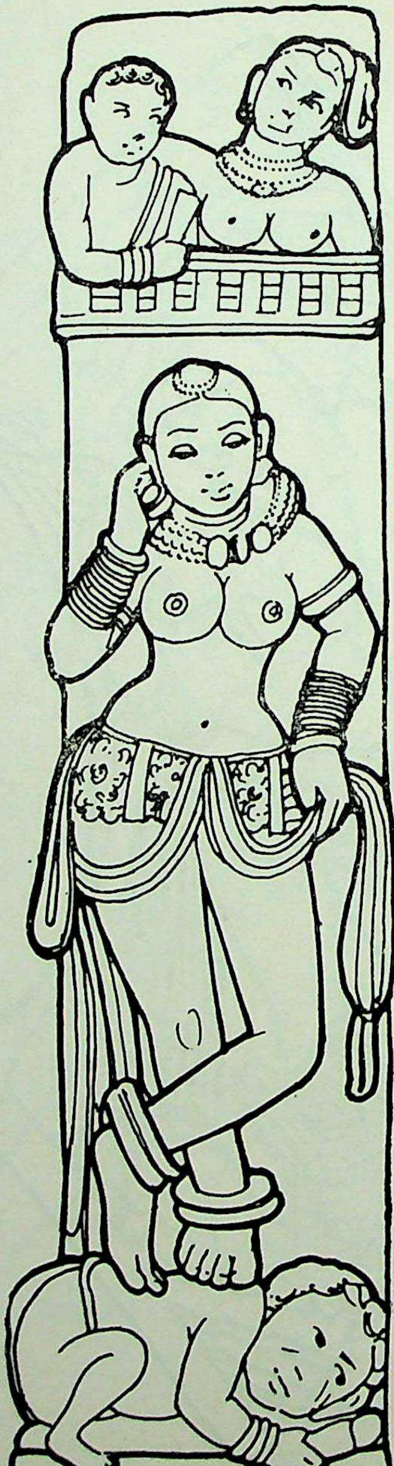


PLATE XIII

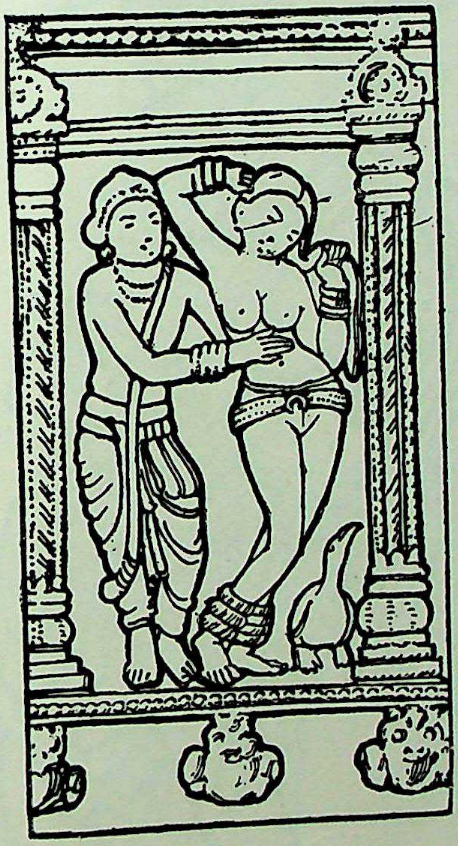
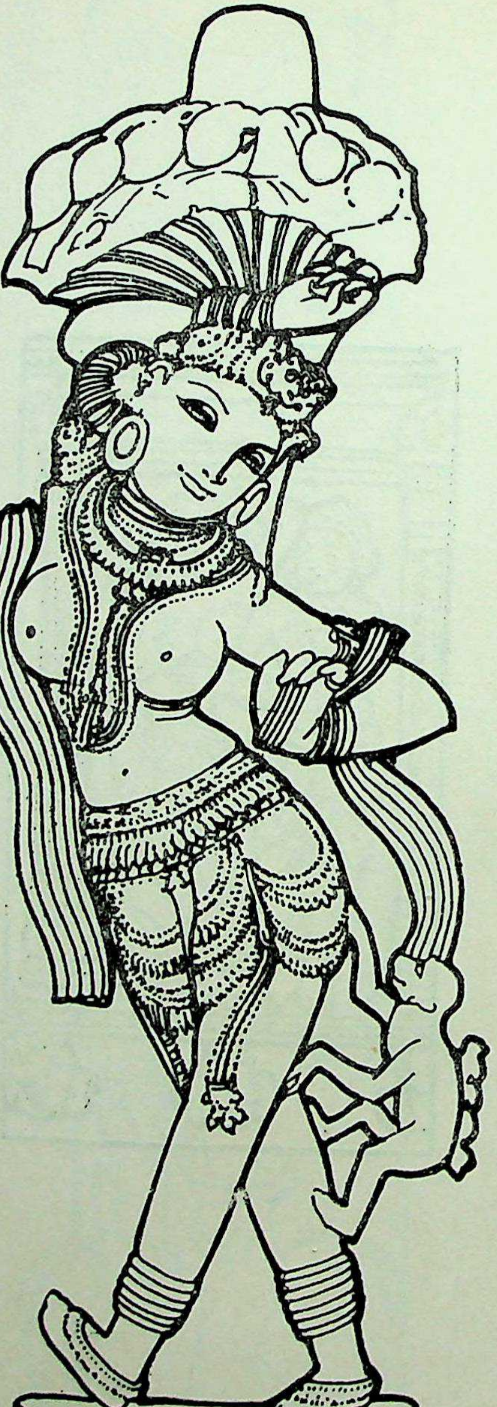


PLATE XIV



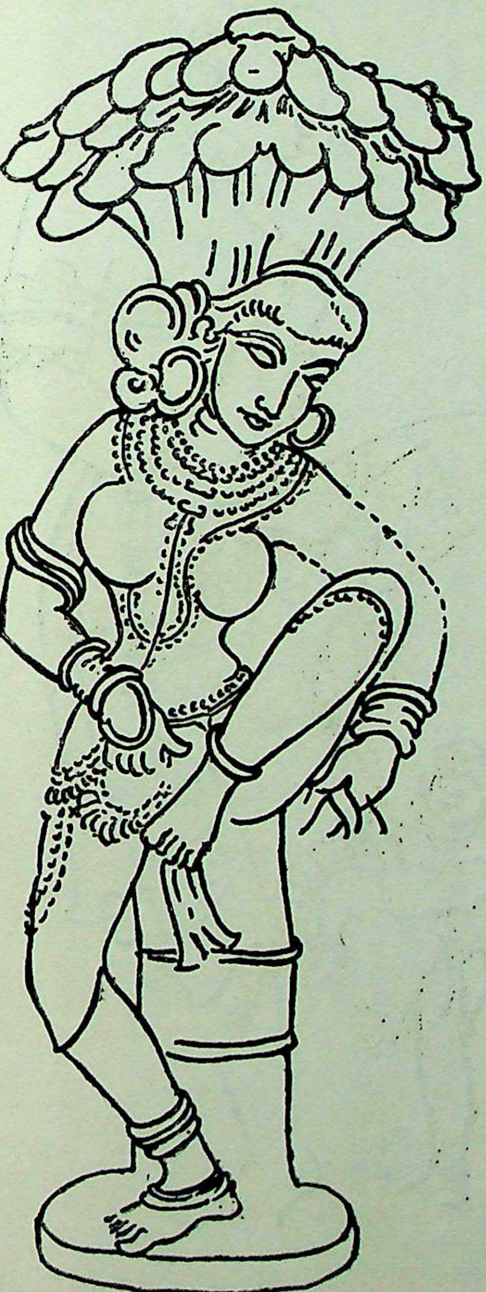
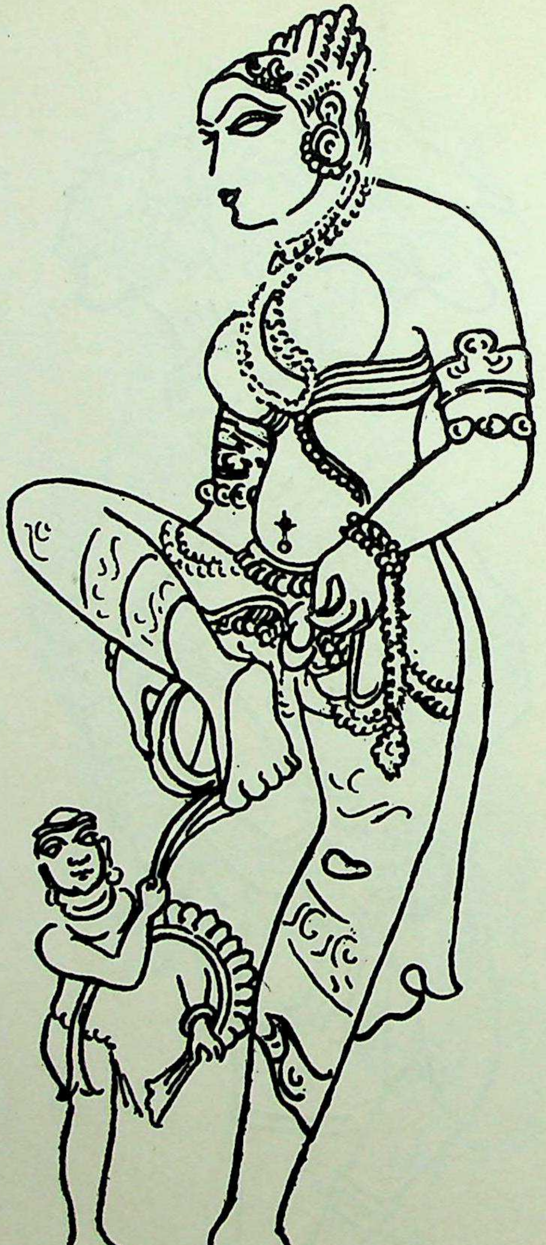


PLATE XVI



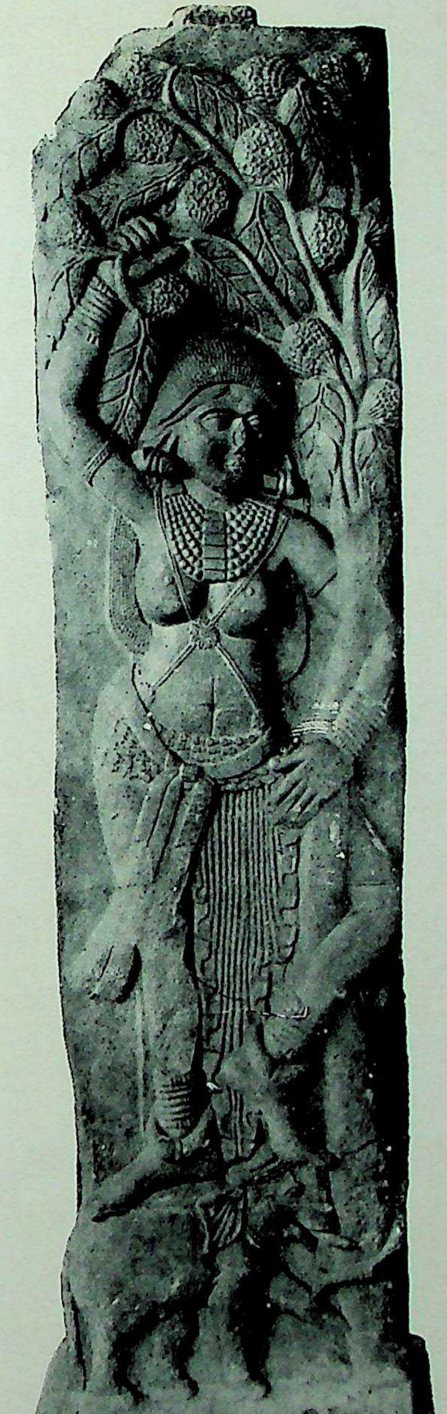
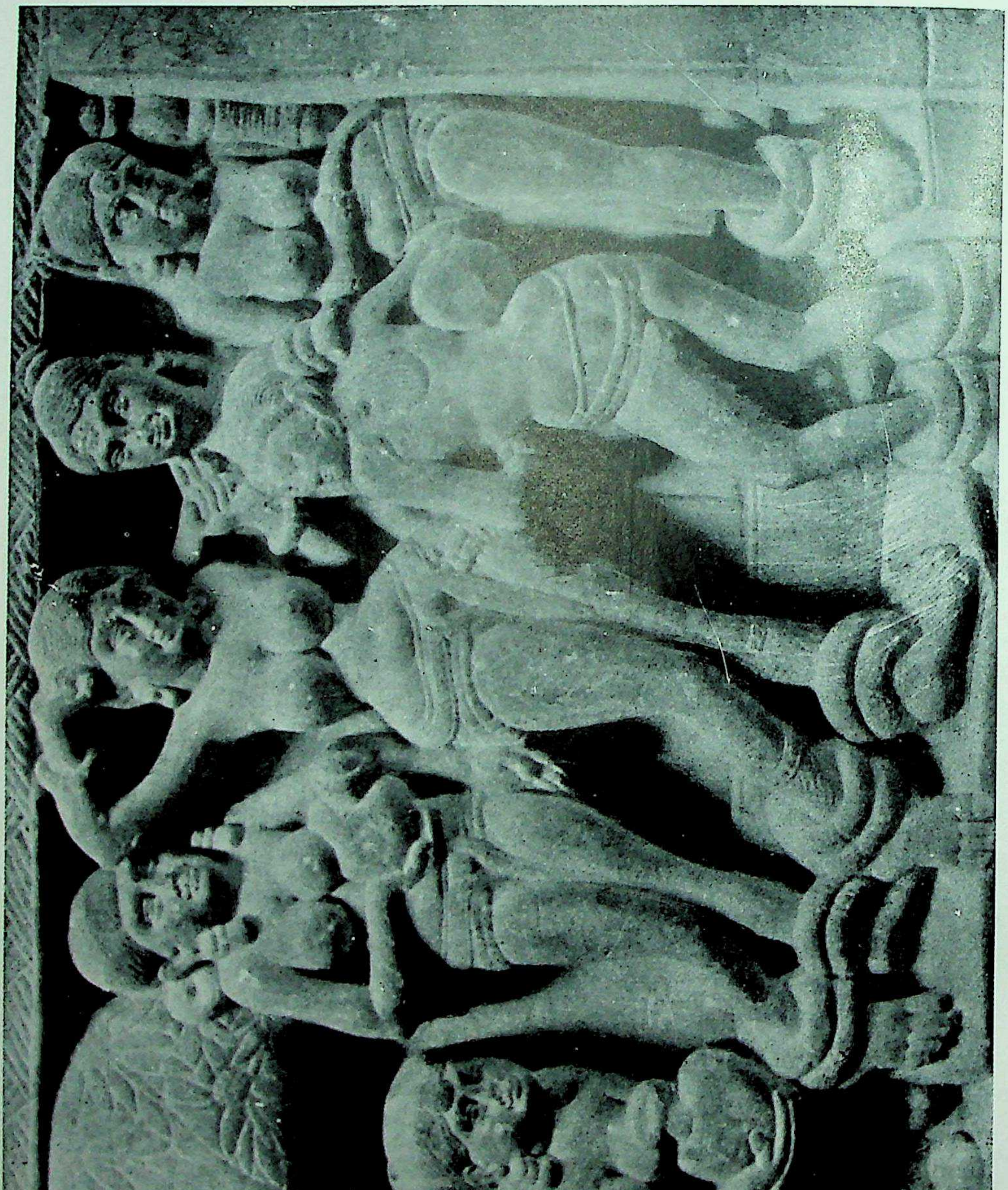
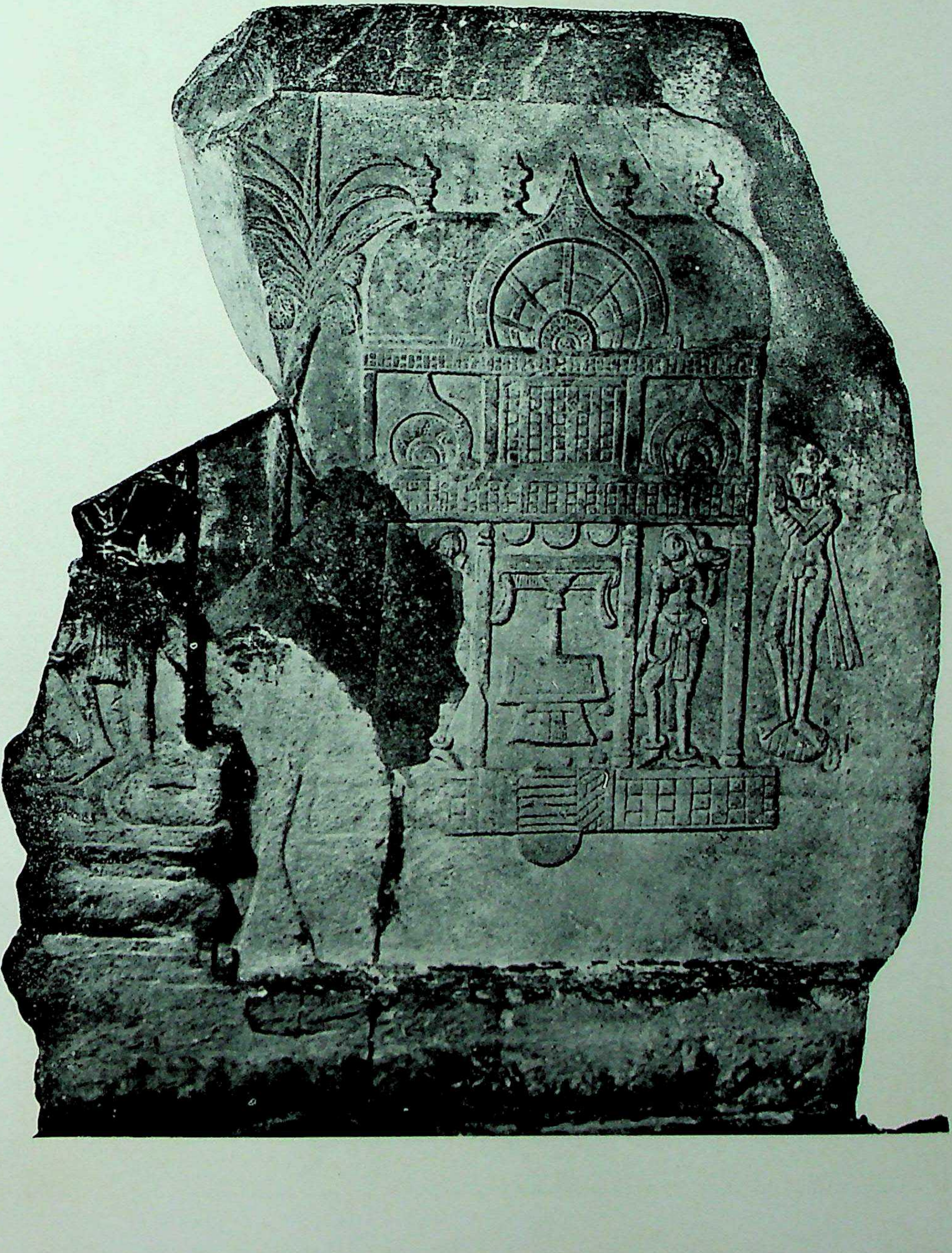
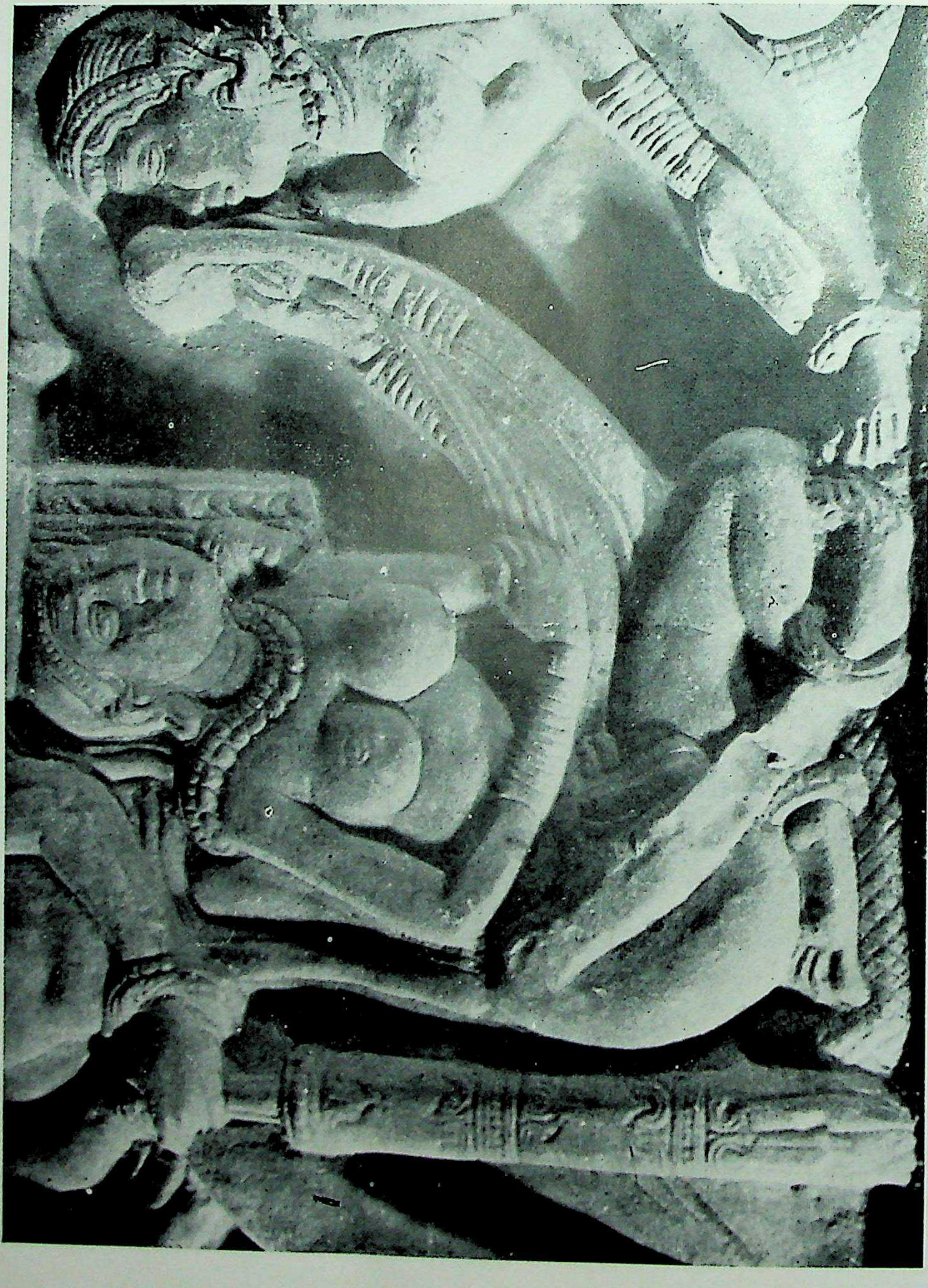


PLATE XVIII







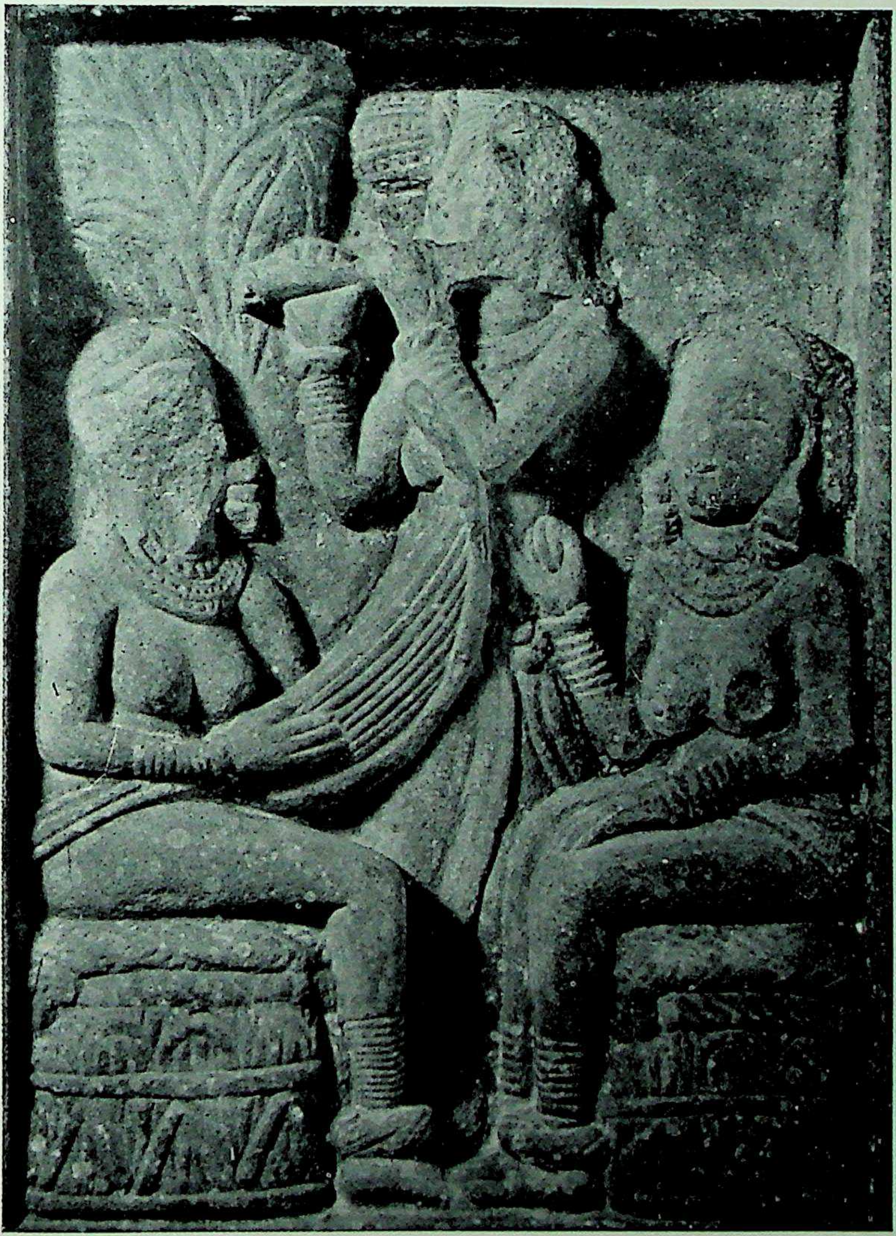


PLATE XXII

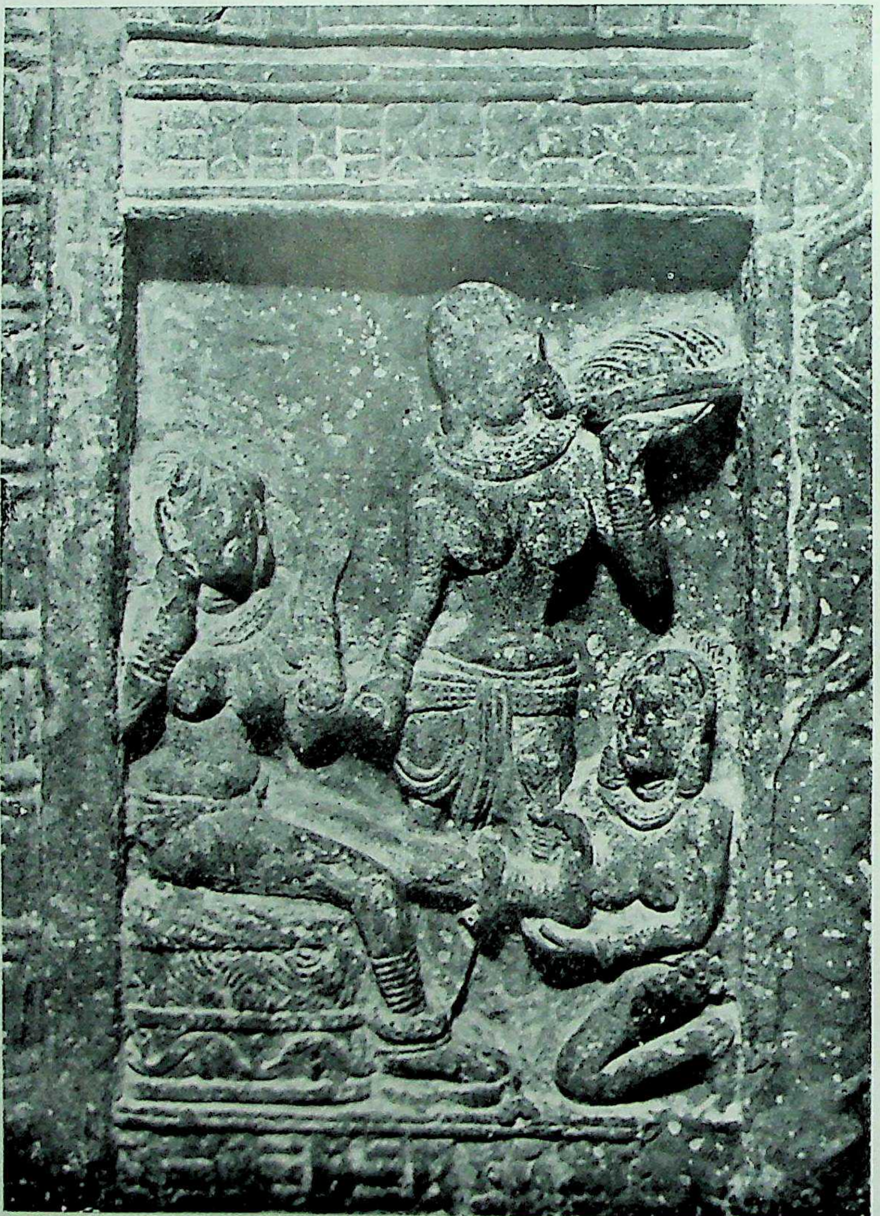
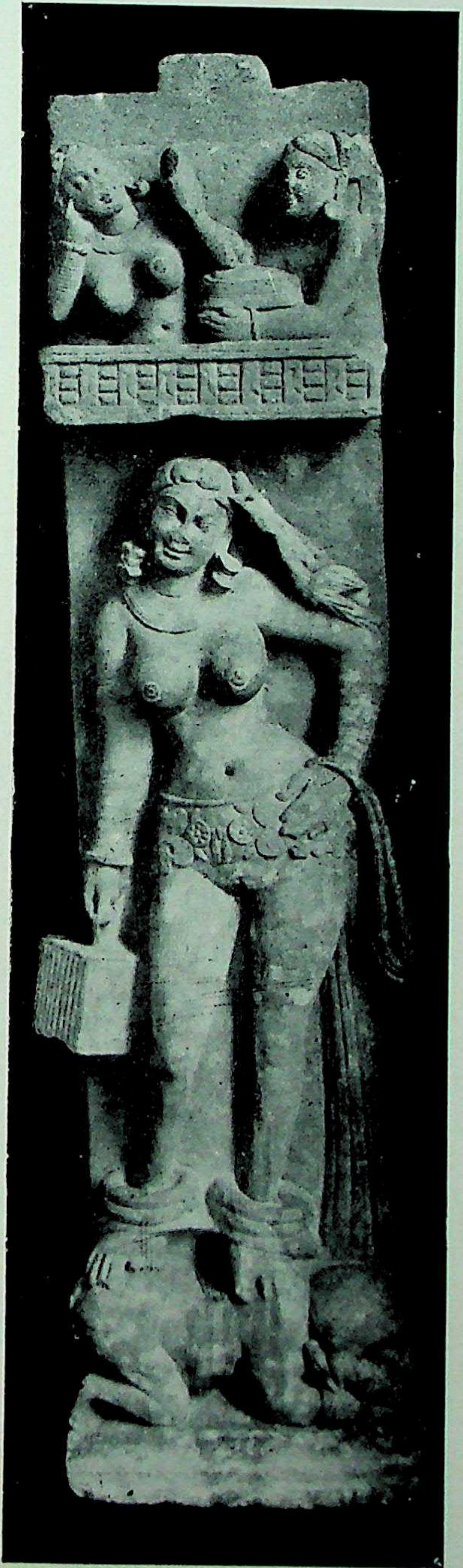


PLATE XXIII



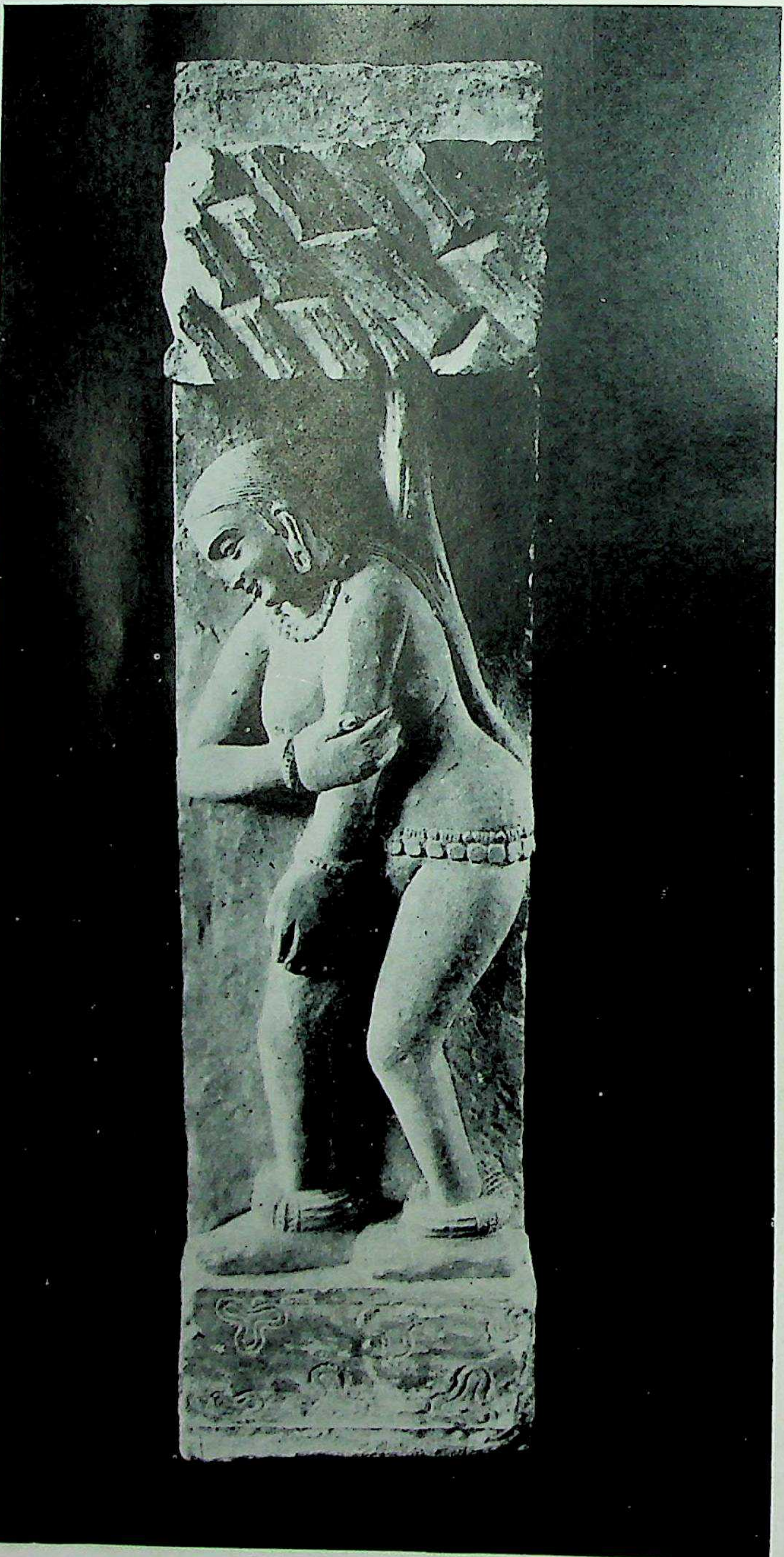


PLATE XXV

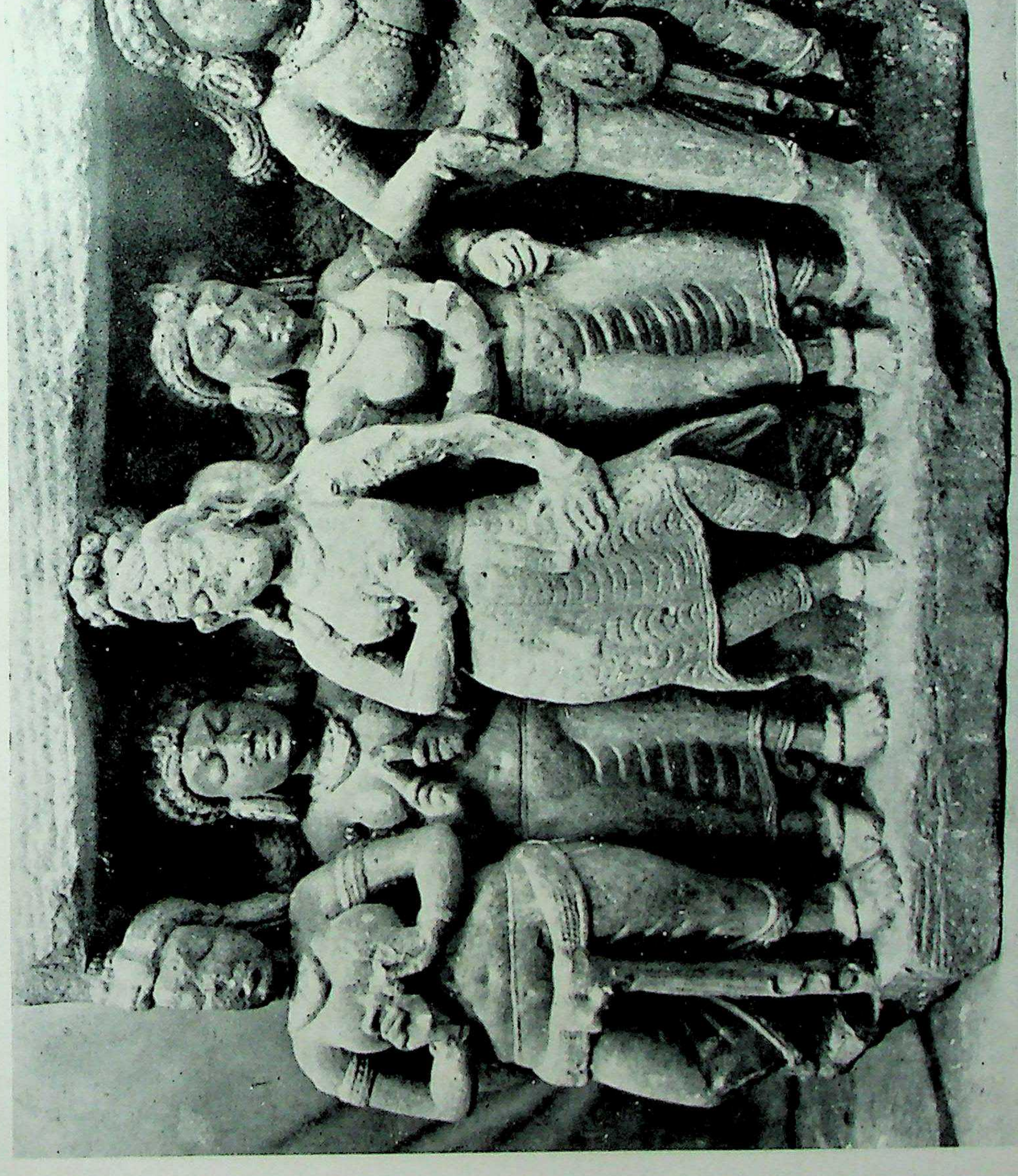
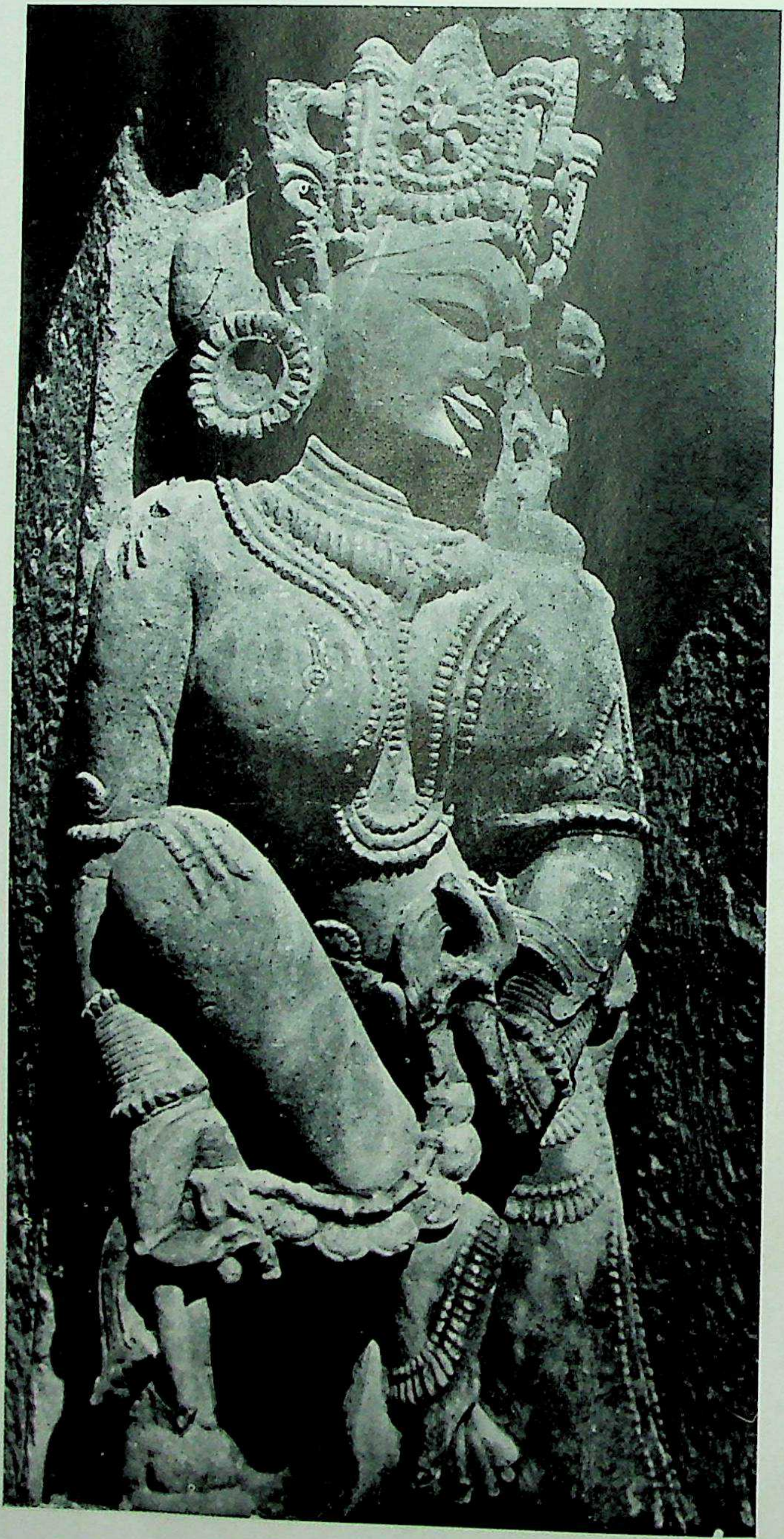


PLATE XXVI



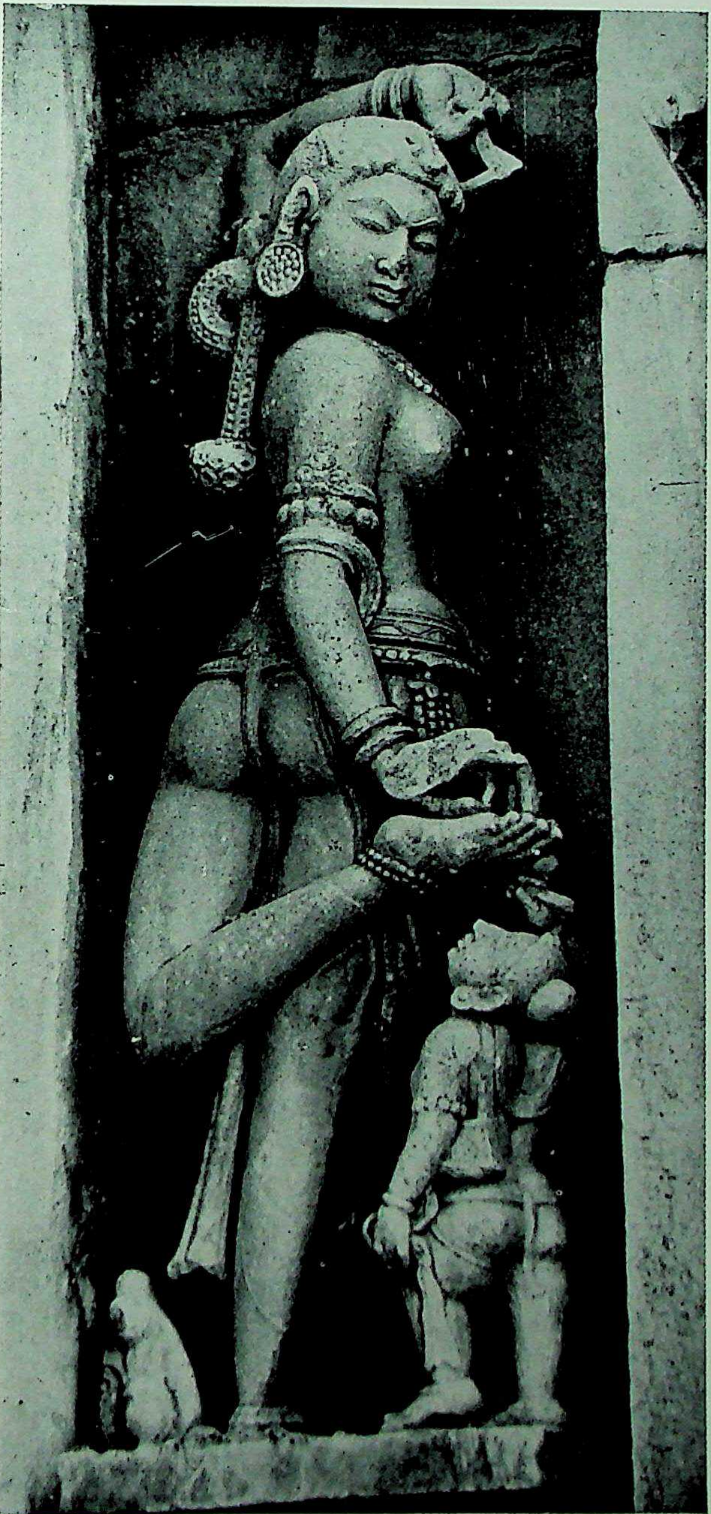


PLATE XXVI

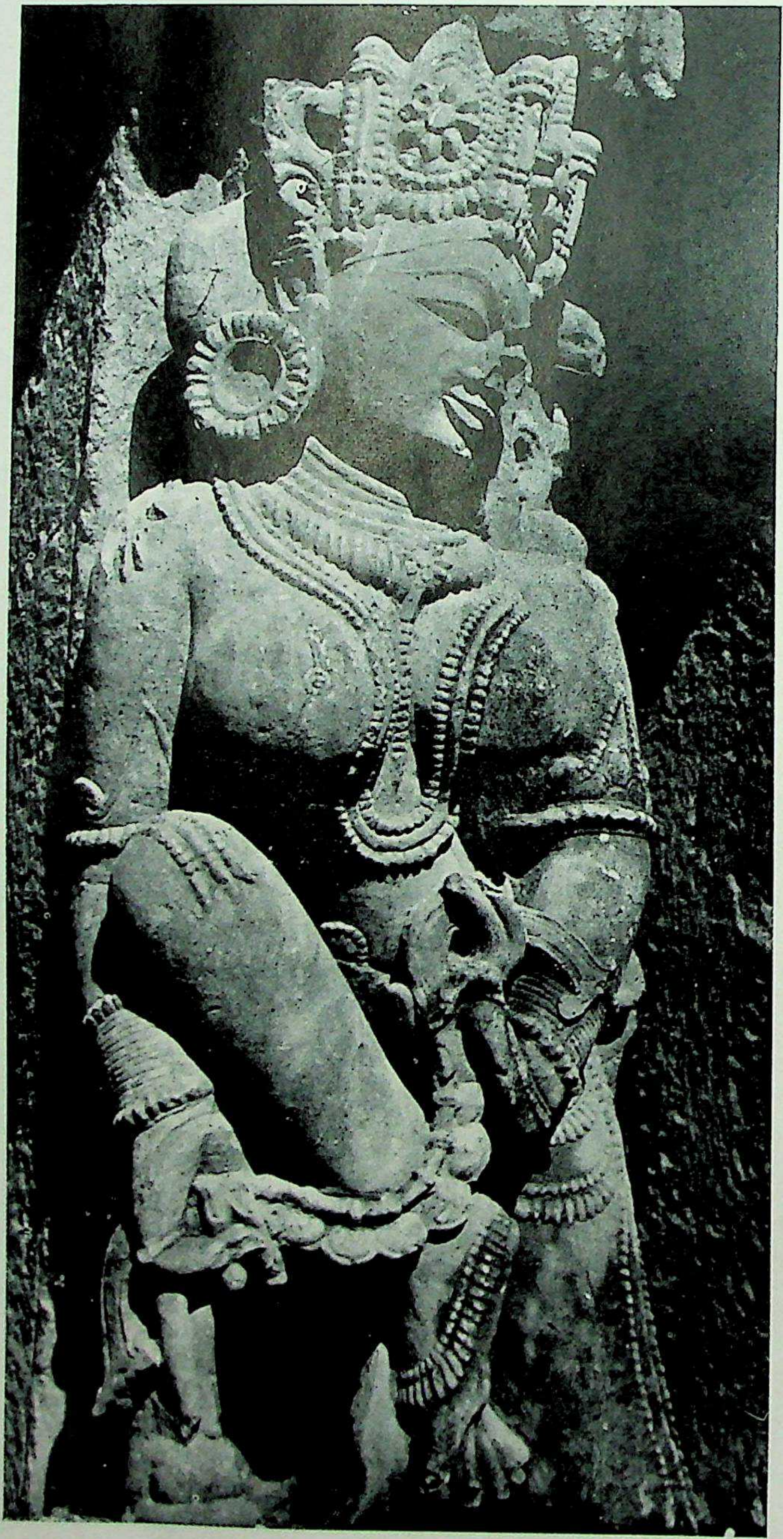
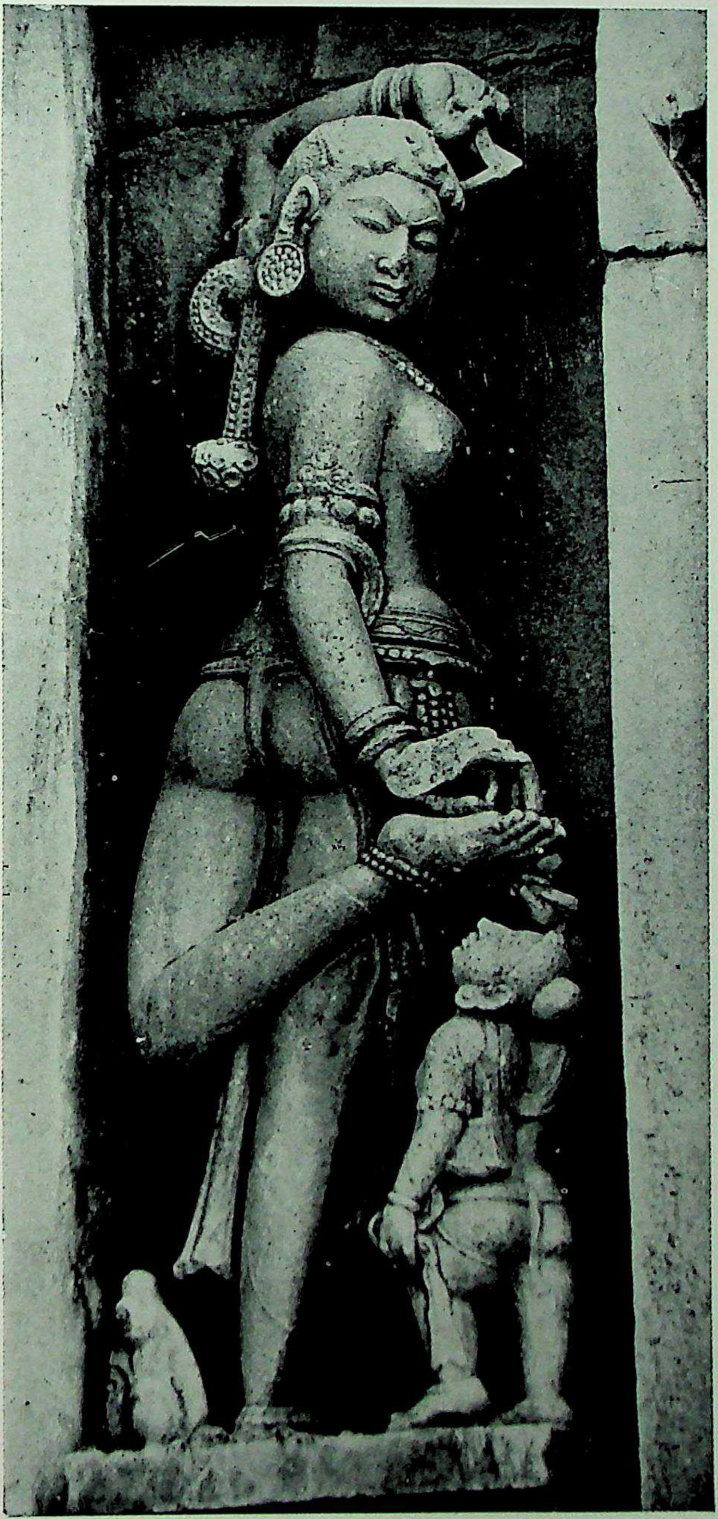
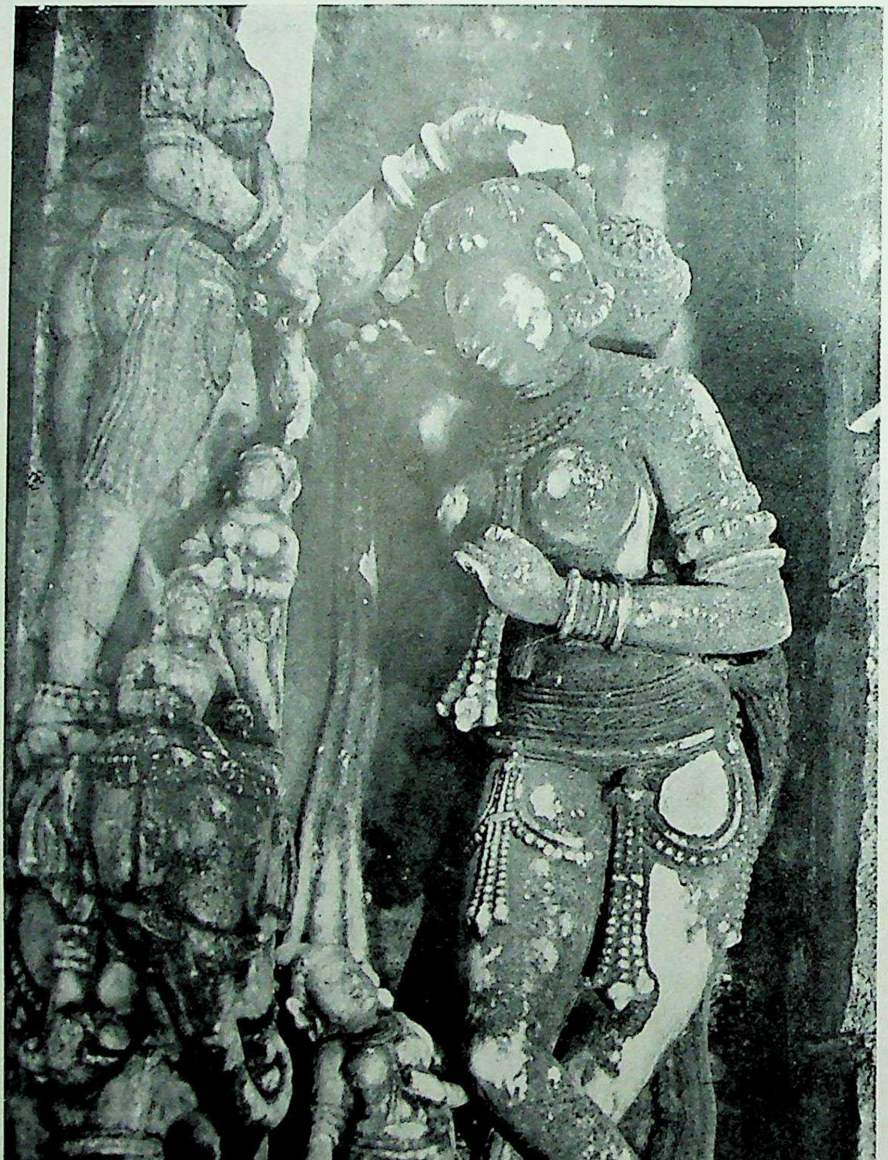
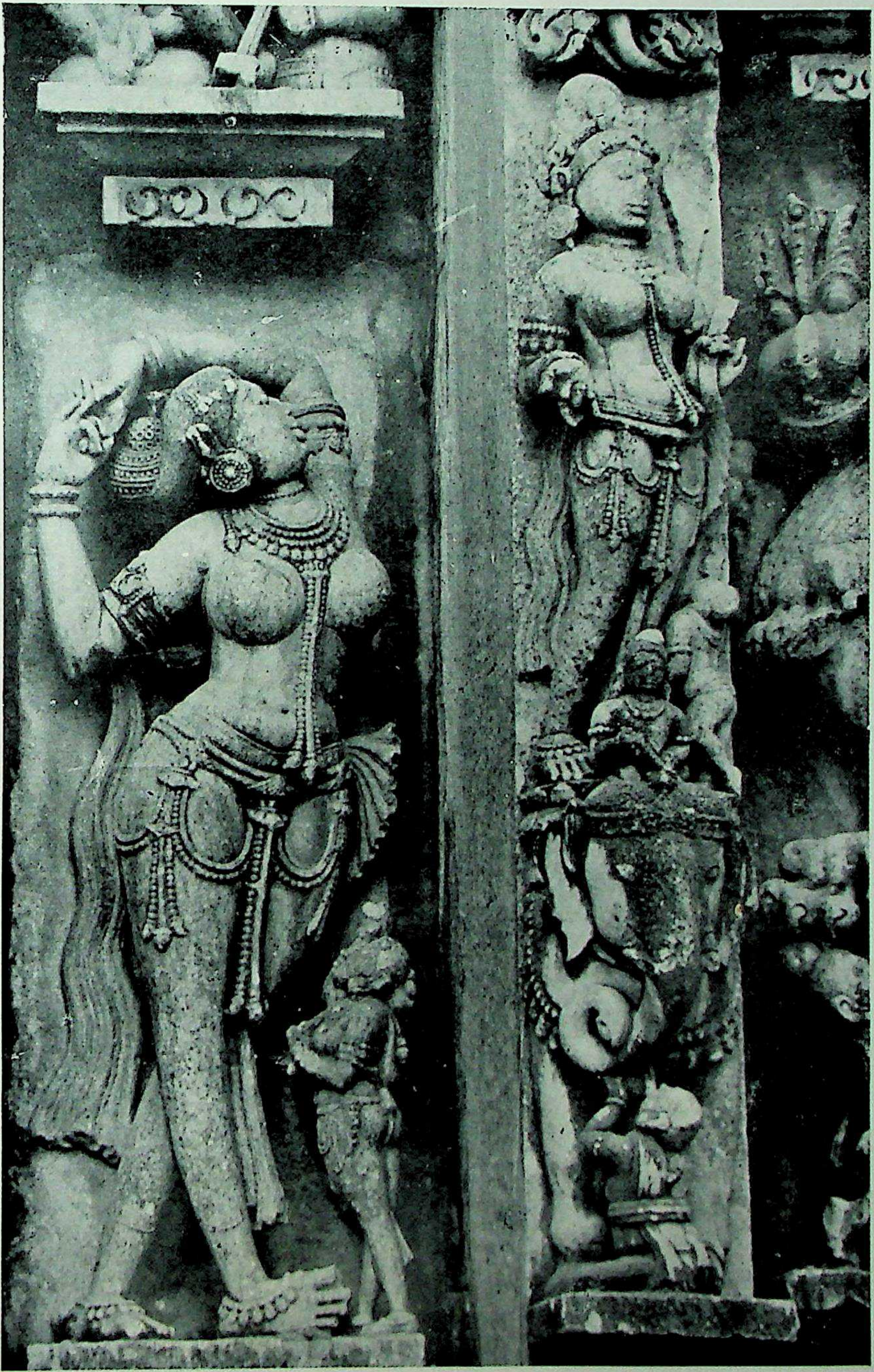
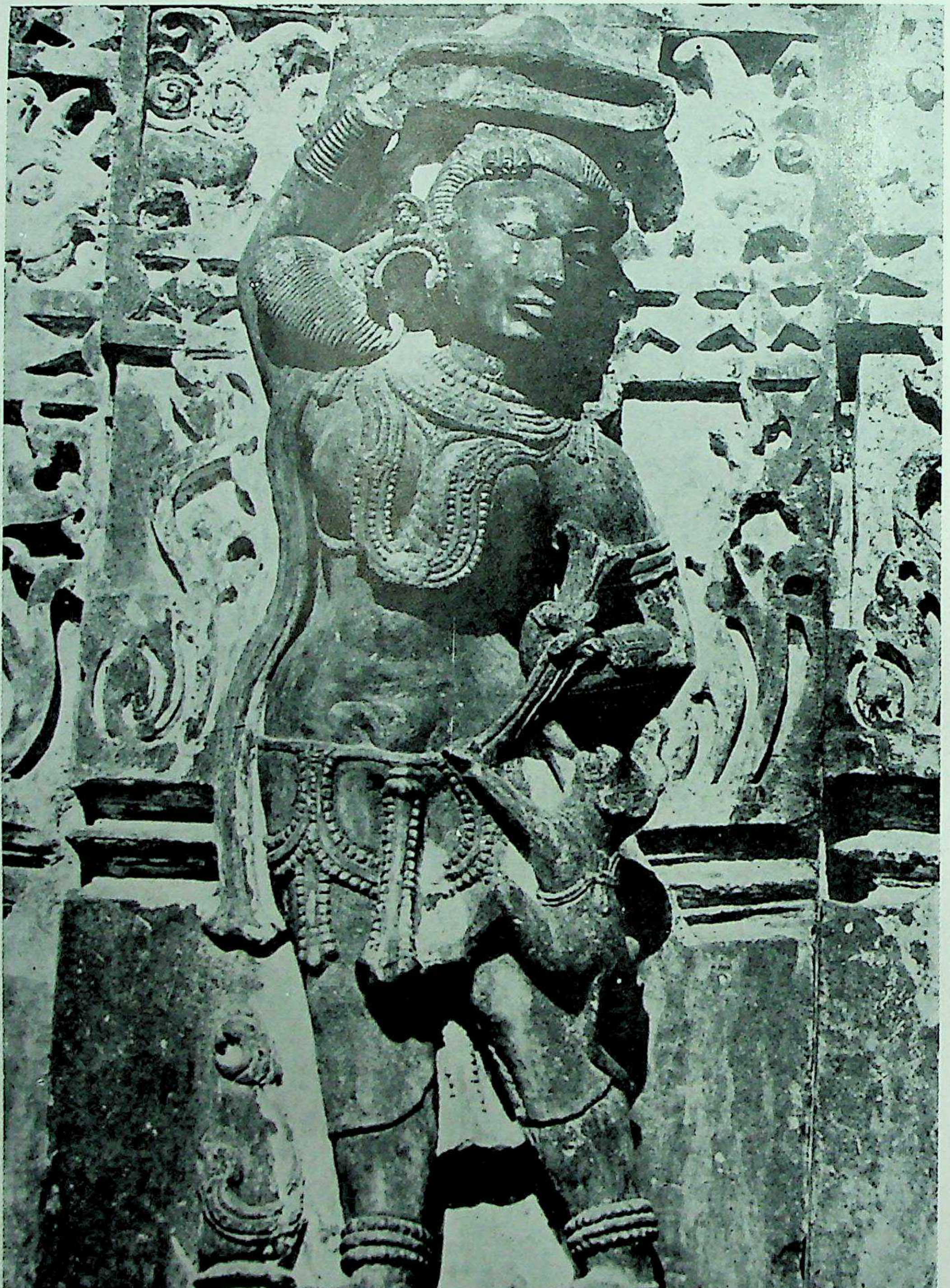


PLATE XXVII









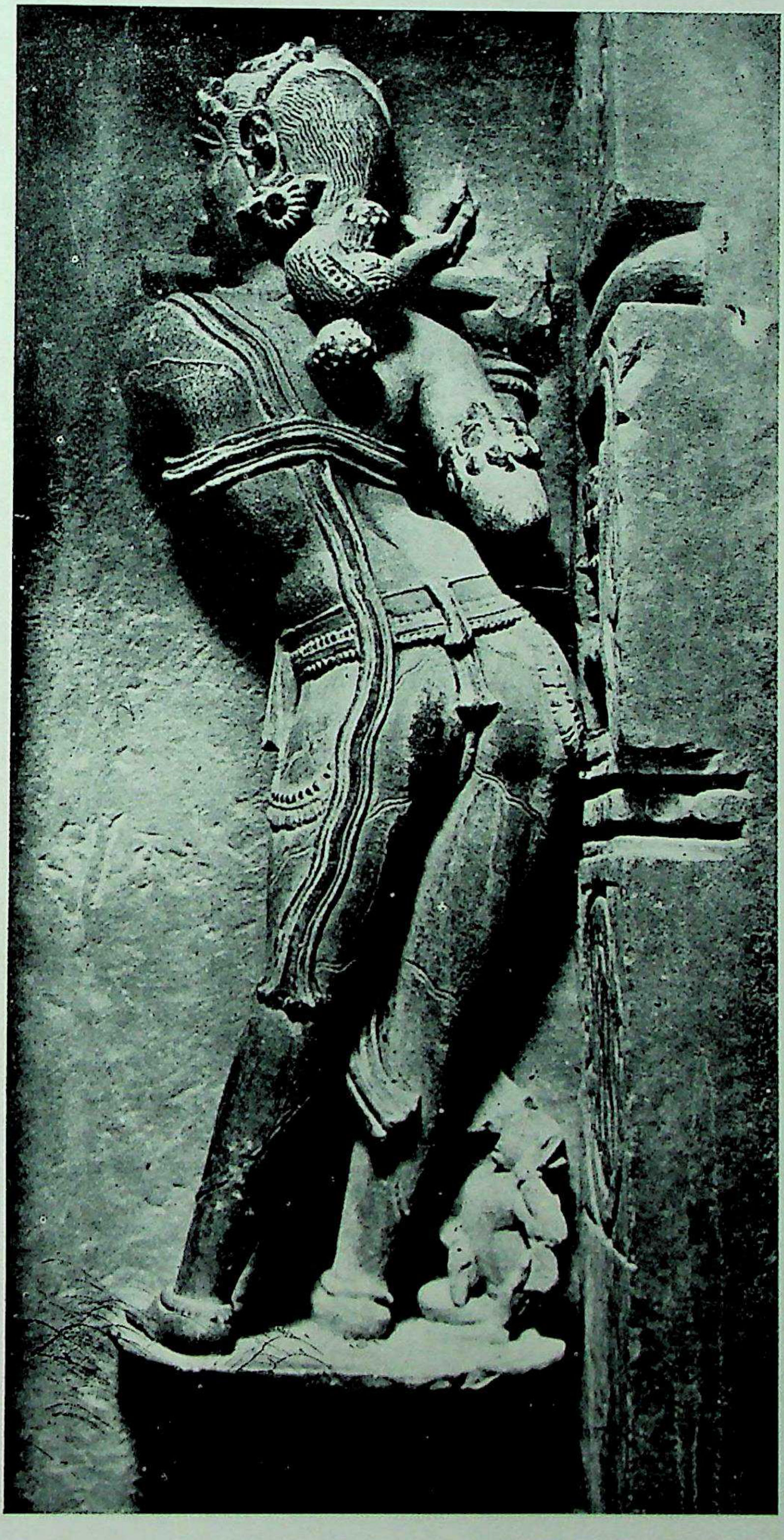


PLATE XXXII

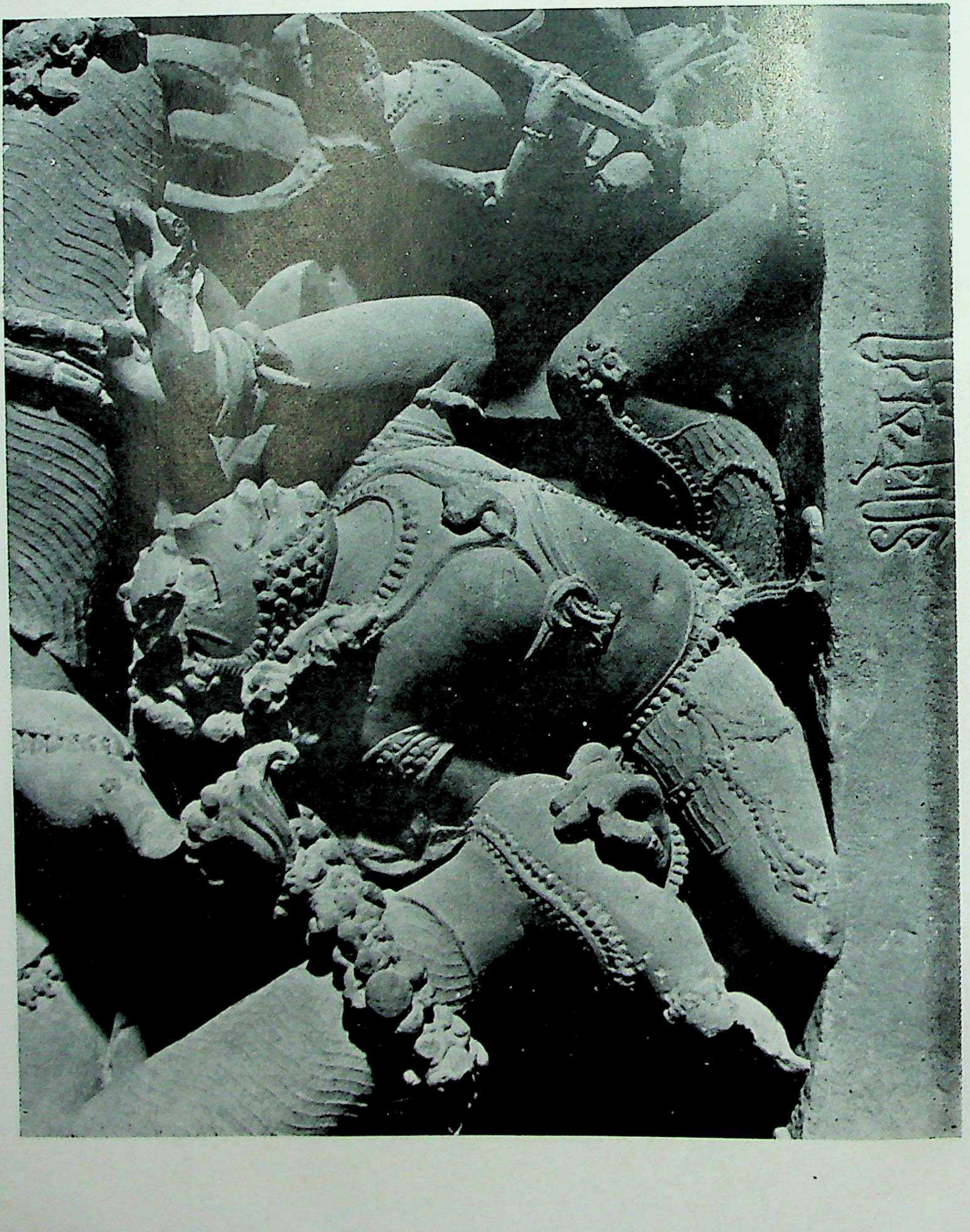


PLATE XXXIII

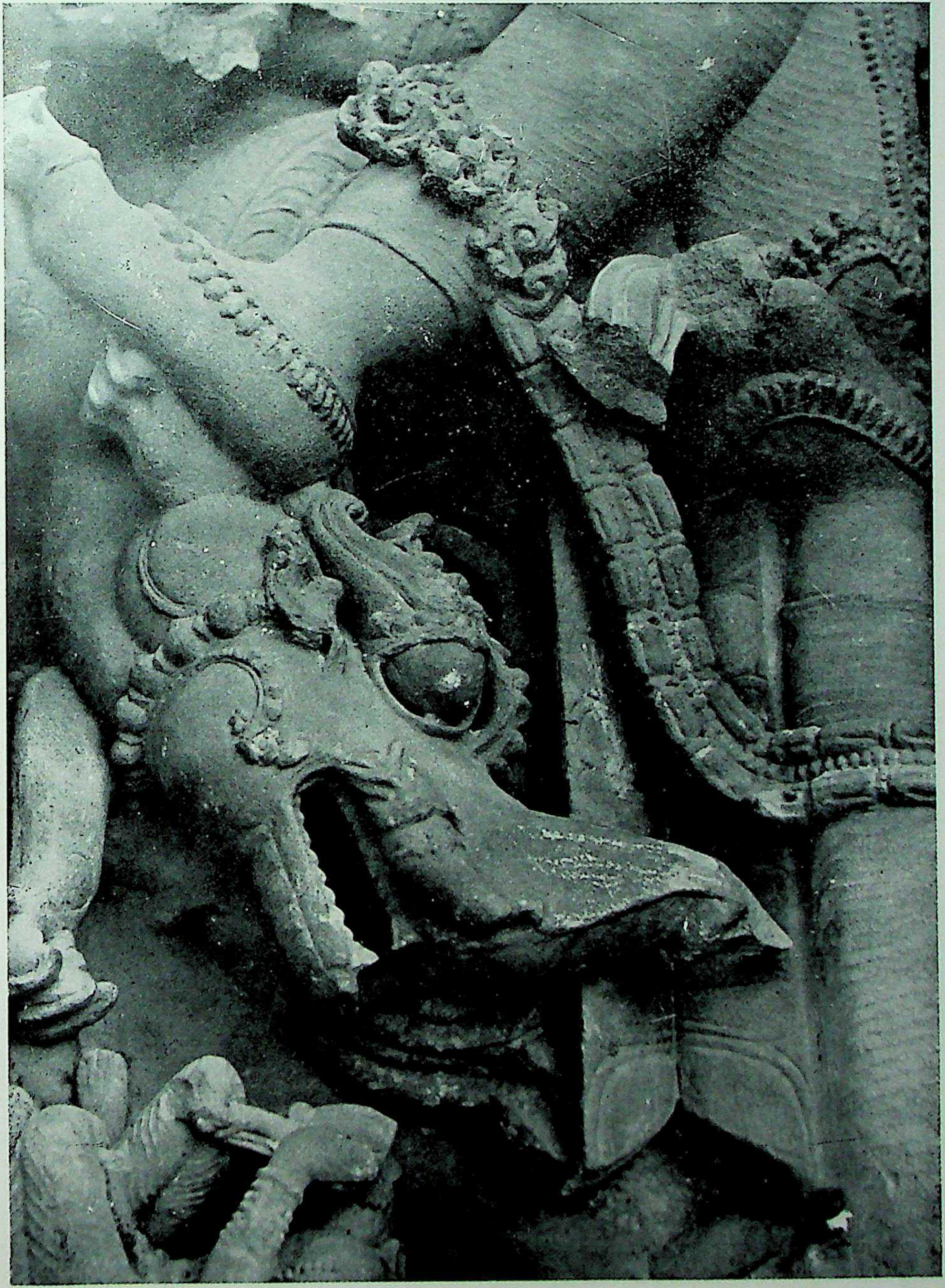


PLATE XXXIV

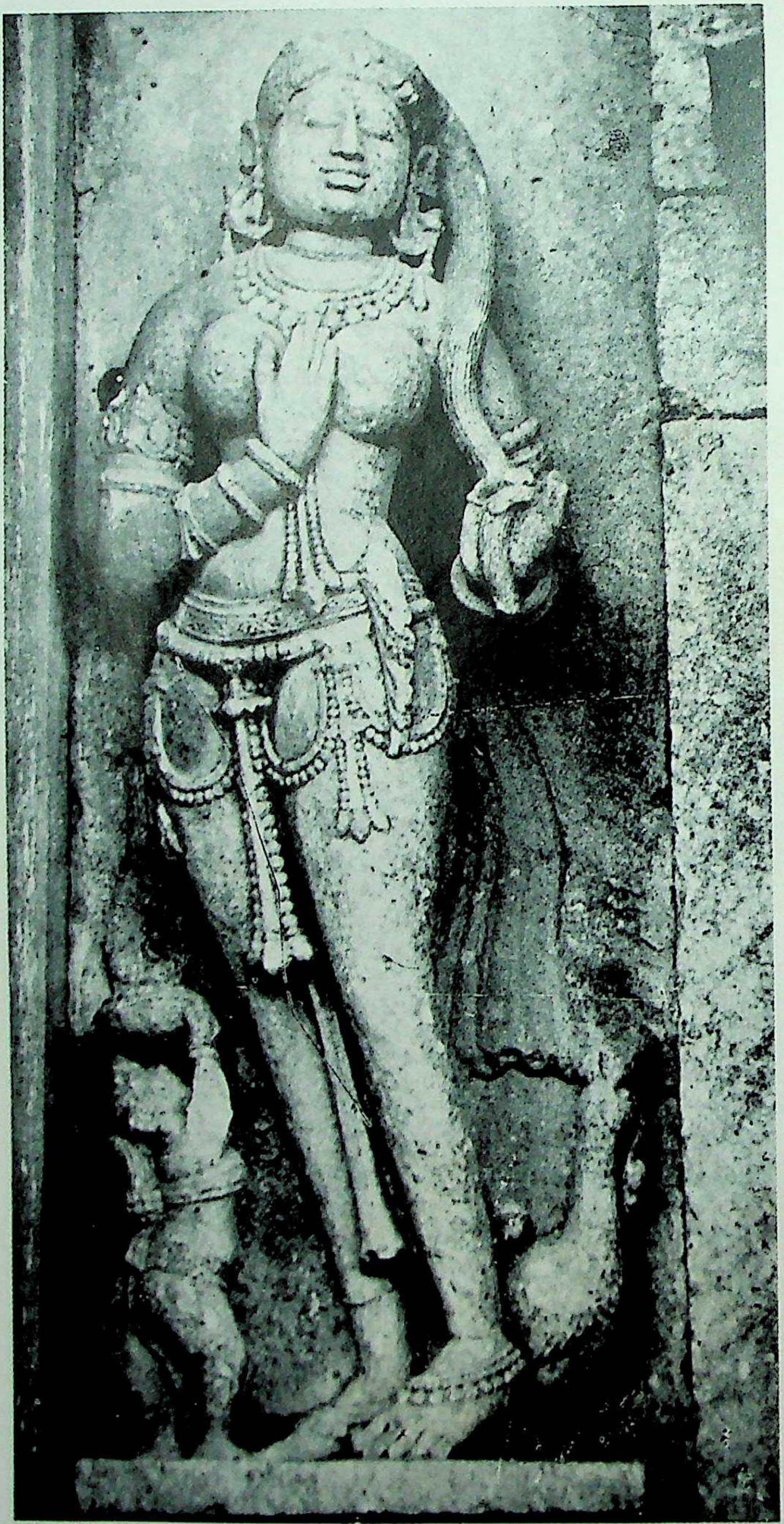


PLATE XXXV

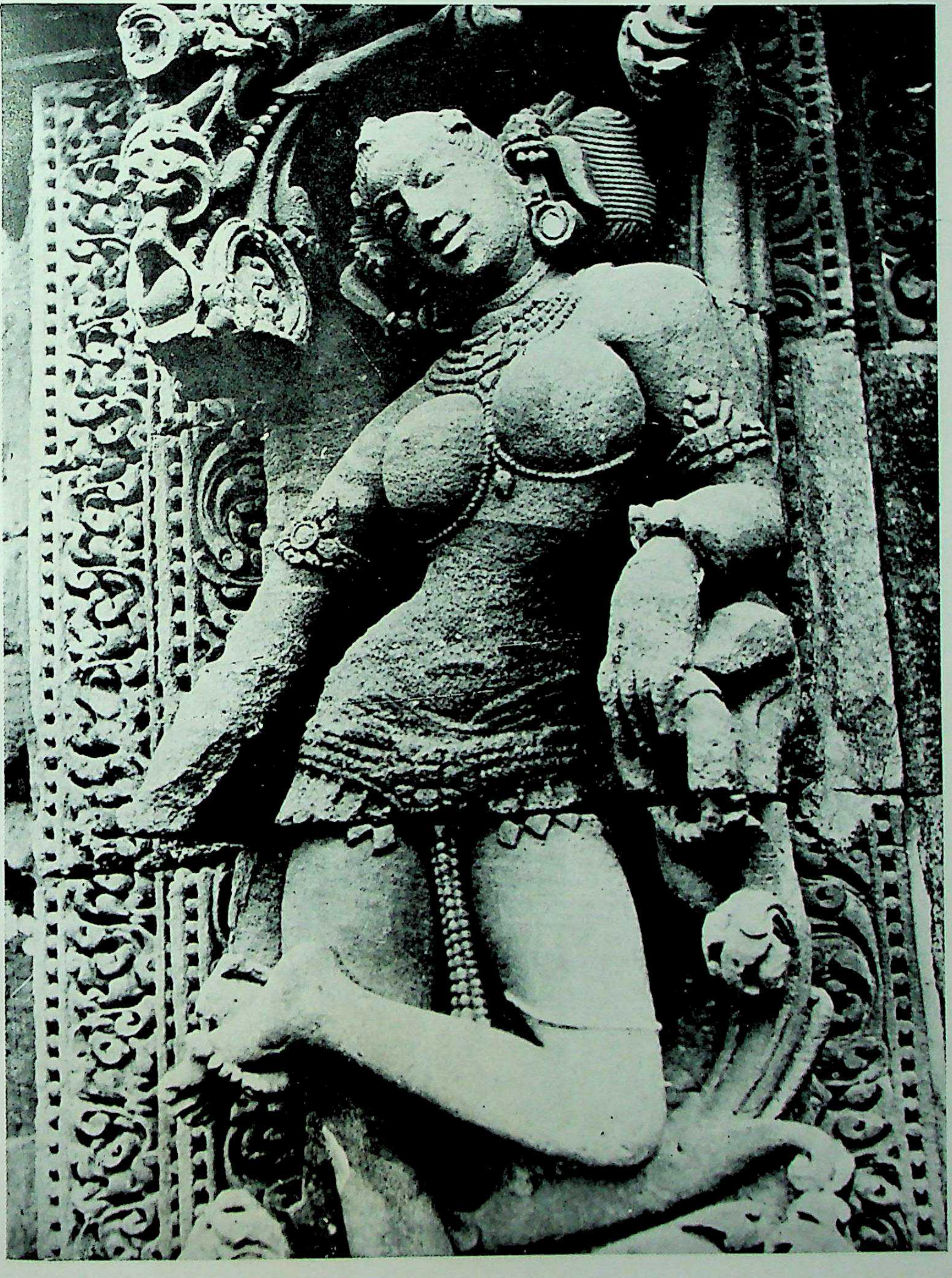
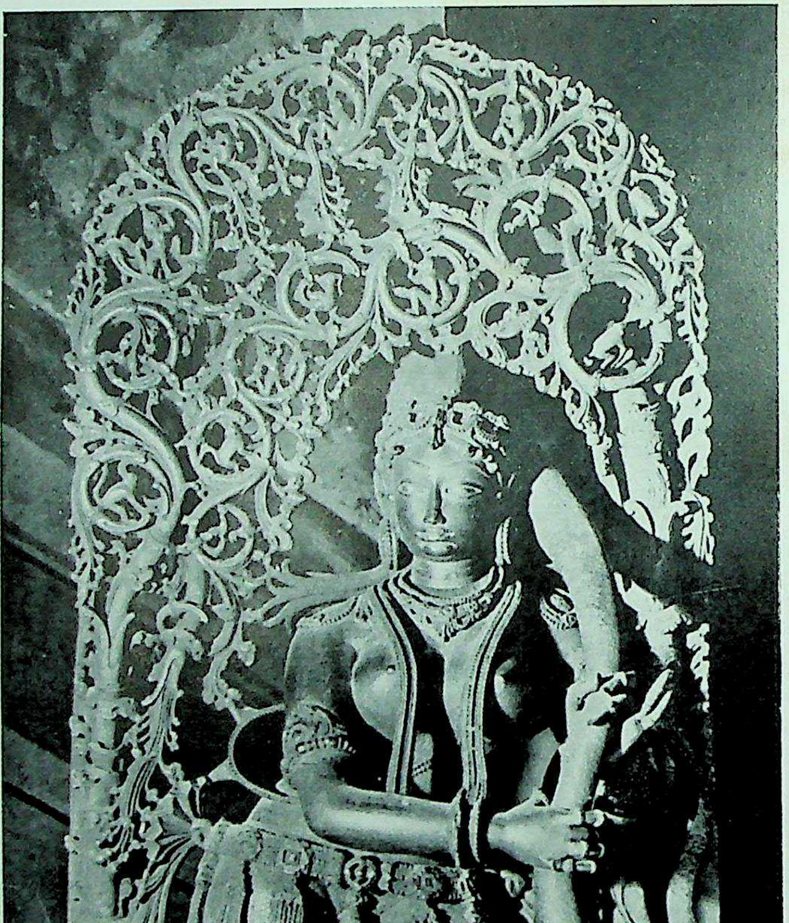


PLATE XXXVI



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abhinavagupta	*Commentary on Nāṭya-śāstra*, ed. Kavi, M.R., Baroda, 1954.
Acharya, N.R. (ed.)	*Kumarasaṁbhavam*, Bombay, 1946. *Raghuvaṁśam*, Bombay, 1948. *Subhāshita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāram*, Bombay, 1952.
Agrawala, V.S.	*India as known to Pāṇini*, Lucknow, 1953. *Harsha Charita Ek Sāmskṛitika Adhyayana* (Hindi), Patna, 1964. *Kādambari Kk Sāṁskritika Adhyayana* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1970. *Padmāvat* of Jāyasi, M.M. Hindi Commentary, Jhansi, 1955. Guide Book to the Arch. Section of the Provincial Museum Lucknow, Lucknow, 1940.
Amarasimha	*Nāmalingānuśāsana* (Amara Kosha) with the commentaries of Kshīraswamy and Sarvānanda ed. by Sastri, T.G., Trivendrum, 1914.
Apte, V.M.	*Social and Religious Life in the Gṛihya Sūtras*, Ahmedabad, 1939.
Apte, V.S. (ed.) and others	*Sanskrit English Dictionary*, 3 Vols., Poona, 1957, 58,59.
Aśvaghosha	*Buddhacharitam*, ed. by Cowell, E.B., Oxford, 1893. ed. by Johnston, E.H., Oxford, 1928. *Saundarānanda*, ed. by Shastri, H.P., Calcutta, 1939.
Bachhofer, L.	*Early Indian Sculpture* (Indian edition), Delhi, 1973.
Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa	*Harsha-charitam*, ed. by Parab, K.P., Bombay, 1918. *Kādambari*, ed. by Parab, K.P., Bombay, 1921.
Barret, D.	*A Guide to the Karla Caves*, Bombay, 1957.
Barua, B.M.	*Bharhut* (Parts 1, 2, 3), Delhi, 1979 (reprint).

Bhanuchandra	*Sanskrit Commentary of the Kādambari of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa*, ed. by Parab, K.P., Bombay, 1912.
Bharata, Muni	*Nāṭya-śāstra*, Text with the commentary of Abhinavagupta, Vol. III, ed. Kavi, M.R., Baroda, 1954. *The Nāṭya-śāstra*, English translation by Ghosh, M.M., Vol. I (Ch. I-XXVII), Calcutta, 1950.
Bhāsa	*Chārudattam*, ed. by Devadhara, C.R., under the title *Bhāsa-nāṭaka chakram*, Poona, 1951.
Burgess, Jas.	*The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, London, 1887.
Chakladar, H.C.	*Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāma-sūtra*, Calcutta, 1929.
Chandra, Moti (ed.) and Agrawala, V.S.	*Chaturbhāṇī*, translation and notes (Hindi), Bombay, 1959. *The World of Courtesans*, Delhi, 1973. Illustrated Manuscript of *Amaruśatakam*, text with English Translation, *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, No. 4.
Chandra, P.	*Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*, Bombay, 1971.
Chandra, R.G.	*Studies in the Development of Ornaments and Jwellery in Protohistoric India*, Varanasi, 1964.
Coomaraswamy, A.K.	*La Sculpture de L' Bhārhut*, Paris, 1956.
Cowell, E.B.	(Text edited) *Buddha Charita of Aśvaghosha*, Oxford, 1893. (Translation and Text) *The Buddha Charita or The life of Buddha* (reprint), New Delhi, 1977. (Translated) *Harsha-charita of Bāṇa*, London, 1897. (editor-in-charge) *Jātaka* (translation series) Vols. I to VI and the Index, Cambridge, different years.
Cunningham, A.	*Stupa of Bharhut* (reprint), Varanasi, 1962.
Dāmodaragupta	*Kuṭṭanīmatam Kāvyam*, ed. by Kaul, M., Calcutta, 1944.
Deshpande, M.N. and Ghosh, A. (ed.)	*Ajanta Murals*, A.S.I., New Delhi, 1967. The rock-cut caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan, *Ancient India*, No. 15, pp. 66-93, New Delhi, 1959.
Deva, R.R. (ed.)	*Śabda Kalpadruma*, 5 Vols., Calcutta.

Dhavalikar, M.K.	*Ajantā* : A Cultural Study, Poona, 1974. *Sanchi* : A Cultural Study, Poona, 1965.
Durga Prasada (ed.)	*Śiśupāla-vadham of Māgha*, Jaipur, 1933. *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa of Vishwanatha*, Bombay, 1936.
Dwivedi, V.P.	*Indian Ivories*, Delhi, 1976.
Fausboll, V. (ed.)	*The Jataka* (texts), Vols. I to VI, London, 1877 (onward).
Fergusson, J.	*Tree and Serpent Worship*, London, 1873.
Forlong, J.G. (ed.)	*The Milindapañho*, R.A.S., London, 1928.
Führer, A.A. (ed.)	*Sri Harsha-charita Mahākāvyam*, along with the commentary of Śankara, Bombay, 1909.
Gai, G.S.	A note on Tilaka and Kaṅkaṇa, *Bulletin of Deccan College Institute*, p. 301, Vol. 20, 1960.
Gajendragadkar, A.B. (ed.)	*Kāvya Prakāsha of Mammaṭa*, text and translation, Bombay, 1970.
Ghosh, A. (ed.)	*Ajanta Murals*, A.S.I., New Delhi, 1967.
Ghosh, M.M.	*The Nāṭya-śāstra of Bharata-muni*, translation in various Vols., Calcutta, 1950.
Hiler, Hilaire	*From Nudity to Raiment*, London, 1930.
Iśvaradatta	*Dhūrta-viṭa-saṁvāta* ed. by Motichandra and Agrawala under *Chaturbhāṇī*, Bombay, 1959.
Jayadeva	*Gita-govinda*, Calcutta, 1968.
Kale, M.R. (ed.)	*Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, Bombay, 1934. *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Bombay, 1933. *Mṛichchhakaṭikam*, Delhi, 1972.
Kalidasa	*Abhijñāna, Śākuntalam* i. ed. by Kale, M.R., Bombay, 1934. ii. Williams, Monier. Notes critical and explanatory (reprint), Varanasi, 1962. *Kumarasambhavam* i. Wilson, H.H. Text and translation (reprint), Varanasi, 1966. ii. ed. Acharya, N.R., M.S. edition, Bombay, 1946. *Mālavikāgnimitram*, ed. by Kale, M.R. with English translation, Bombay, 1933.

Schokker, G.H. — The *Pāda-tāḍitaka* of Śyāmilaka, A critical edition, Part I, The Hague, 1966.

Sharma, R.K. — *Temple of Chaunsaṭhayoginī at Bheraghat*, Delhi, 1978.

Shastri, A.M. — *India as seen in the Kuṭṭanīmata of Damodaragupta*, Delhi, 1975.
India as seen in the Bṛihat Saṁhitā of Varāhamihira, Delhi, 1969.

Shastri, H.M.S. (ed.) — *The Mrichchhakaṭikam of Sūdraka*, Bombay, 1910.

Shastri, R.S. — *Kautilya's Arthaśāstra*, Bangalore, 1915.

Śyāmilaka — *Pāda-tāḍitakam*, ed. by Motichandra and Agrawala, Bombay, 1959.
The Pāda-tāḍitakam of Śyāmilaka, ed. by Schokker, G.H., The Hague, 1966.

Shrigondekar, G.K. (ed.) — *Manasollāsa*, Vol. II, Baroda, 1939.

Sivaramamurti, C. — *Amaravati Sculptures in the Govt. Museum, Madras*, Madras, 1942.
Sanskrit Literature and Art : Mirrors of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1970.

Someśvara — *Manasollāsa* (Vol. II) edited with an introduction by Shrigondekar, G.K., Baroda, 1939.

Śūdraka — *Mṛichchhakaṭikam*, ed. by Shastri, H.M.S. with the Commentary of Prithvidhara, Bombay, 1910.
ed. by Kale, M.R., Bombay, 1972.
Padma-Prābhṛitakam, edited and translated with notes in Hindi by Motichandra and Agrawala, V.S. under the title *Chaturbhāṇī*, Bombay, 1959.

Tewari, B.N. (ed.) — *Bṛihat Paryāyavāchīkośa* (Hindi), Allahabad, 1962.

Tewari, S.P. — *Cultural Heritage of Personal-Names and Sanskrit Literature*, Delhi, 1982.

Tulasidāsa — *Ramacharita-mānasa*, ed. by Misra, Visvanatha Prasada, Varanasi, Saṁ. 2018.

Upādhyāya, B.S. — *India in Kālidasa*, Allahabad, 1947.

Upādhyāya, S.C. — *Kāma Sūtra of Vātsyāyana* (translation of the Sanskrit text), Bombay, 1965.

Vālmīki — *Rāmāyaṇam*, ed. by Paṇśikar, W.L.S., Bombay, 1930.

Vararuchi	*Ubhayābhisārika*, ed. by Motichandra and Agrawala Bombay, 1959.
Vātsyāyana	*Kāma-sūtram*, with the *Jayamaṅgalā*, Commentary of Yaśōdhara, Benares, 1929.
Vatsyayana, Kapila	*Classical Indian Dance in Literature and the Arts*, New Delhi, 1968.
Viśvanātha	*Sāhitya-Darpaṇa*, ed. by Durga Prasada, Bombay, 1936.
Vogel, J. Ph.	*La sculpture de Mathura* (Ars Asiatica), Paris, 1910. *The Goose in Indian Literature and Art*, Leiden, 1962.
Vyas, S.N.	*India in the Rāmāyaṇa Age*, Delhi, 1967.
Williams, M.	*Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899.
Yaśōdhara	Sanskrit commentary called *Jayamaṅgalā* on *Kāma-sūtram*, Benares, 1929.

INDEX

ābharaṇa, 36, 46
Abhinavagupta, 45
abhisārikā, 44, 50, 52-53, 84-85
ābhūshaṇa, 21
Agrawal, V.S., 31n, 52n, 62n, 68, 79n
Aja, 48
Ajanta, 23
Ajātaśatru, 35
ākṛiti, 75
ālaktaka, 49, 86, 91
ālaṁbana, 83
alaṁkāras, 24, 26, 45-46
alaṁkaraṇa, 26
alpā, 78
Amarakośa, 51
Amarasiṁha, 51, 64, 79-80
Amarāvati, 23, 30-31, 63, 70-71
Amor, 83
anduka, 59
aṅgada, 46, 63, 65
aṅga-vidyas, 45
aṅgulīyaka, 28, 46
antaḥ-pura, 67
apsaras, 72
Arjuna, 28
armlets, 21, 25
Arthuna, 64, 80
Ashṭādhyāyī, 34
Aśoka tree, 47-50, 89
Aśoka-dohada, 48-50, 55n, 69, 88
Aśvaghosha, 29, 37, 38n, 39-42, 47, 66, 77, 88
āyaka, 76
Ayodhyā, 47, 50, 85
āyudha, 33
avedhya, 44

Bachhofer, 63n
Bakulāvalikā, 49, 74
bandhanīya, 44
Bāṇa, 29, 39, 54-56, 62, 64, 91
Banner of Kāmadeva, 54, 87
Barret, D., 31n, 63n, 71n
Barua, B.M., 30n
beads, 25
beaux, 24
Begram, 30-31, 74
Belur, 77
Bhaja, 30
bhāṇas, 52
Bhānuchandra, 55n
Bharata, 44-45
Bhāravi, 29
Bharhut, 23, 30 and n, 62-63, 68-70, 78
Bhāsa, 29, 42-43
bhāshā, 66
Bhavabhūti, 29
Bheraghat, 80
bhikkhuṇis, 34
bhūshā, 21
bhūshaṇa, 21, 46
bhūshaṇa-yojana, 45
bhushopabhoga, 57
Bhutesar, 72
Bhuvaneśvar, 65
Bimbisāra, 34-35
Bodhisatvas, 22
bracelets, 26

Brāhmaṇa, 34, 76
bud-buda, 70
Buddha, 23
Buddhist literature, 27
Buddhist themes, 37
Burgess, J., 71n

Carnelian, 25
Chakra, 33
chala-nūpura, 42n
chalat-tulākoṭi, 65
Chārudatta, 42
Chaturbhāṇī, 52, 72n, 78n, 85
Chaunsaṭha yoginī, 80n
Choḷas, 27
chūḍāmaṇi, 46
Chulakokā-devatā, 69
churā, 68
Coomaraswamy, A.K., 30n, 62n
Cowell, 38n
Cunningham, A., 30n, 69
cymbals, 73

Dāmodaragupta, 81
Deogarh, 74
Deshpande, M.N., 31n
Devadhara, 43n
Devayāni, 28
Dhāriṇi, 49
dharma-śāsana-kaṭaka, 62
dhvaja, 78
dhvaja-kiṅkiṇī-yuvatayaḥ, 78
Didarganj, 30
dohada, 72
Draupadī, 28
Dvaipāyana, 41
dwarfs, 72
Dwivedi, V.P., 74

ear lobes, 23
ear-rings, 21, 23, 25-26, 57
Epic, 28
Eros, 83
Europe, 24

Fausboll, 27n
Female attendants, 71
Ferguson, J., 71n
Figures of Speech, 24
fillets, 25
finger-rings, 25
foot-bangle, 27
Foucher, A., 31n, 62n

garlands, 26
ghaṇṭikā, 45, 78
ghargharikā, 80
Ghosh, A., 31n
ghuṅghurū, 45, 58, 80
girdle, 25, 57
goḷaharā, 64
goḷsaṅkara, 64
Govindachandra, R., 25n
Greek mythology, 83
guṁphita, 70, 73
guṇa, 36, 73
guṇa-guṁphita, 73
Gupta period, 52, 74

haṁsa, 75-77
haṁsaka, 51, 55-57, 75-77, 92
hāra, 24, 28, 42
Harappa, 25
hāra-yashṭi, 41
harp, 73
Harsha, 29
hastābharaṇas, 28
hasta-chūḍaka, 57
hastinī, 69
hāṭaka-kaṭaka, 62
Hiler, H., 22
Hiraṇya-khādi, 33, 62

Indian Erotics, 45

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Indumatī, 48
Īśvaradatta, 29, 52-53, 85

Jagat, 77
Jaggayyāpeṭa, 30, 71
Jamsot, 81
janapada-kalyāṇī, 40
jaṅghā-kāṇḍa, 57
Jātaka texts, 23, 26, 39, 79
Jayadeva, 67
Jāyasī, M.M., 68
jhāñjha, 68
jhāṅvara, 68
jhiñjhinī, 78
Jīmūta, 91

Kaḷā, 61
Kālidāsa 23, 29, 33, 39, 41, 46-51, 66
Kalpa-vṛiksha, 29
Kāma-śāstra, 91
Kāma-sūtra, 45, 87
Kāma, the god of Love, 48, 53, 86, 89, 92
kaṁṭha, 21
kaṁṭha-hāra, 21
Kāñchī, 36, 46
Kanheri caves, 30
kara-kaṁkaṇa, 21
Karle caves, 30, 31n, 63
Karmāntā bhūmi, 86
karṇa-bhūshaṇa, 46
karṇa-kuṇḍala, 21, 23
karṇa-śobhana, 26
karṇōṭpala, 41
Kāśī, 41
kaṭaka, 23-24, 44, 61-62, 65, 68-69, 73
kaṭaka-kadaṁbaka, 62
Kauṭilya, 29, 36 and n
kavi-samaya, 37
Keith, 33n
keśa, 26
keśaka, 26
ketu, 72
keyūra, 26, 28, 42, 46
khādi, 26, 33, 61
khādi-hasta, 33
Khajuraho, 65, 81
kiṅkiṇī, 46, 51, 78, 80
kiṅkiṇīka, 44-45
kirīṭa, 46
Kramrisch, S., 31n
kshepaṇa, 36
Kshiraswamy, 63n, 64n, 65, 67, 75, 78-79
kshudra, 36, 78
kshudra-ghaṅṭikā, 84
kūnjana, 48
kūjana-rava-ruta, 48
kuṇḍala, 26, 28, 41-42
kurabaka, 69
kuśa, 26
Kushāṇas, 72
kvaṇana, 66

Lakshmaṇa, 28, 35, 84
lalāṭikā, 30
Longhurst, H., 31n
Loth, A.M., 30n
Love, 92

Macaronis, 24
Macdonell, A.A., 33n
Madana, 72
Madanasenikā, 88-91
Māgha, 39, 56-57, 64, 77, 92
Mahābhārata, 27-28
Mahārājas, 24
major types of ornaments, 30
makuṭa, 22
mālā, 26, 57, 79
Malavikā, 49, 74
Mallinātha, 48n
maṇḍana, 46
maṇi, 26, 42
maṇi-grīva, 26
maṇikara, 45

maṇi-kuṇḍala, 46
maṇi-nūpura, 45-46
mañjīra, 45, 51, 64-65, 67-71, 73-75
Marshall, J., 31n, 62n, 70n
Mathura, 30, 63-64, 72-74, 78
Maurya court, 29
Max Müller, 33
Māyā, 64, 71
mekhala, 28, 46, 87
Mīrā, 80
mithuna, 76
Mitra, R., 31n
Mohenjodaro, 25
Mookerji, R.K., 25
Motichandra, 52
muktāvalī, 46

nāgaraka, 45
nāgarikās, 45
Nāgarī script, 81
Nagarjunakonda, 23, 30, 31 and n, 51, 56, 64, 71, 72n, 76, 79
Nanda, 41, 42, 88
nandana-vana, 41
Nandī, 33
nāṭakitthiya, 39
nāyikā, 69, 84
necklace, 21, 25, 41, 57
nepura, 66
neura, 66
nīdhura, 66
ninādā, 66
nishkagrīva, 26
nisvana, 36
niyura, 66
North Indian dialects, 61
Nūpurasenā, 52

pada, 88
pādābharaṇa, 55
pāda-bhūshaṇa, 58
pāda-chūḍaka, 57
pāda-ghargharikā, 58, 88
pāda-haṁsaka, 91
pāda-kaṭaka, 51, 58, 61, 63-64, 68, 75-76
pada-krama, 56
pada-krama-pāṭha, 55
pādāṅga, 63
pādāṅgada, 21, 57, 63-64, 71, 75
pādāṅgada-mañjīra, 64
pādukā, 35
pālipādakam, 27, 79
Pāli texts, 34, 39
Pali Text Society, 34, 66
paṇḍita, 56
Pāṇini 26, 34
pārijāta, 41
Pārvatī, 50
patsu-khādayoh, 26, 33, 61
payala, 58, 63-64, 77-80
Pitalkhora, 30
prakshepya, 44
Prākrit, 49n, 66
pura, 66-67
pura-sundaris, 37, 39
purushāyita, 88

rāḍhaka, 59
rāja-patha, 50, 85
Rājasūya, 28
Rāma, 47, 92
Rāmanātha, A.A., 51n, 67n
Rāmāyaṇa, 27, 35-36
raṇana, 66, 84
Rao, P.R., 31n
raśanā, 46
Raśanāvatikā, 52
rasikas, 91
rati, 83
ratna-jālaka, 44-45
Rāvaṇa, 27, 36-37
Ray, N.R., 29n
Rhetoricians, 24
Rhys Davids, T.W., 66
Ṛigveda, 33
Roman mythology, 83

Sa-ghosha, 44
sahakāra, 90
Śaivala, 23
Śakāra, 43, 85
Śakuntalā, 41
Samaśāstri, 36n
Saṁhitas, 34
Sāñchi, 23, 30-31, 62n, 63, 70
Saraswati, 55
Śarmishṭhā, 28
Sarvananda, 75n
Sastri, H.P., 40n
Savages, 23-24
Scale, beam-tip, 64
Siddhārtha, 30, 39, 77
śiñjana, 66, 84
Sītā, 27, 36, 47
Śiva, 48
Sivaramamurti, 31n, 34, 36, 77, 63n
Someśvara, 57-59, 70-73, 80
Śrī Harsha, 29
Śṛiṅgārā, 83, 92
sthāyi-bhāva, 83
Subandhu, 28-29
Subhāshita, 46
Śūdraka, 29, 42-43, 52, 85
Sugrīva, 27, 84
Sundarī, 40 and n, 41-42, 48, 88
Suvarṇakāra, 45
svana, 36
swans, 50
Śyāmilaka, 29, 52-53,74, 86-87, 91

tara hāra, 46
taru-dohada, 69
terracotta, 25
Therī, 34
Therī-gāthā, 66
tulākoṭi 51, 57, 64-65, 75
tulākoṭi-valaya, 65
Tulasīdāsa, 92
tulā-yashṭi-nyāya, 65

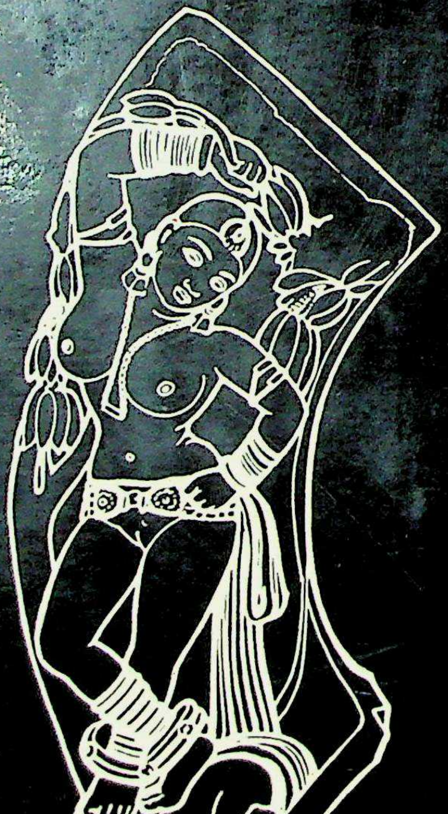
Udayagiri, 30
uddīpana, 83
Upadhyaya, B.S., 46n
upajīvi, 37
Upanishads, 26
Ūrvaśī, 50
Uttarā, 28
Uttara-kuru, 28

Vaḍakkupaniyūr 27
Vaikaṭika, 45
Vaijayaṁtikā, 46
valaya, 46
Vālmīki, 27-28, 35-37, 42, 47, 66
vāmā, 69
vāmā-lochanā, 69
vāmāṅgī, 69
Vararuchi, 29
Vasantasenā, 42-44, 85
Vātsyayana, 29, 45, 87
Vedic Indians, 26
Vedic literature, 26, 33, 61
Vedic period, 26
Vaśyābhisārikā, 84-85
Vidyādharas, 27
Vidyullatā, 41
vilāsinī, 53
vīṇā, 73, 90
viparīta-rati, 87
Vishṇunāga, 88-90
viṭa, 43, 90
Vogel, J. Ph., 31n, 63n, 72n, 75n
Vṛihannalā, 28
vṛisha-khādi, 33

waist bands, 27
weapon, 33

yakshas, 22, 29
yakshiṇis, 22, 30, 41
yoktra-nūpura, 42n
Yudhishṭhira, 28

State Museum Library • Lucknow •



AGAM KALA PRAKASHAN
DELHI